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Life & Times
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OLIVER CROMWELL,

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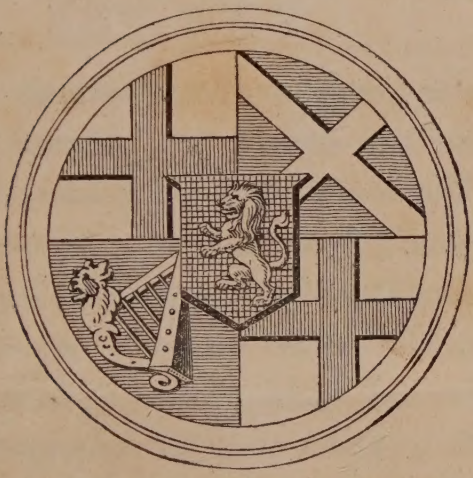
OLIVER CROMWELL

AND

HIS TIMES.

BY THOMAS CROMWELL.



(Great Seal of the Commonwealth under the Protectorate.)

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PREFACE

TO THE

SECOND EDITION.

To complete a dispassionate review of the Character and Actions of Cromwell, and the more striking features of his Times, and that in a form neither too bulky nor expensive for general use, was the Author's aim in the following sheets. He judged the period arrived, at which his views, as the Biographer of "our Chief of Men"* in the seventeenth century, might be supposed divested of the partialities incident to a too close inspection of his subject-matter;—that the moment was fully come, at which the Historian might avail him-

* Cromwell so styled by Milton.

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self of the valuable labours of writers contemporary with the events he describes, without imbibing their party feelings, or sympathising with their interested or vindictive passions.

An English life of the Protector preceded this in the present century. It was that by his late lineal descendant; which, however praiseworthy as an industriously-collected mass of materials from older writers, gave (from the prevalence of an amiable family feeling) too striking evidences of *near relationship* to the celebrated personage it depicted, to gain largely the confidence of the Public.—Of those older writers, the contemporaries chiefly, or nearly such, with Cromwell, the limits of a Preface render it impossible adequately to speak. Neither, in the progress of our volume, it may be proper here to notice, are those writers more than very briefly, if at all, cited: the Author judging, that, to readers not conversant with their works,

their continued mention might look like an affectation of authorities; while, to such as are versed in the English historic literature of the seventeenth and last centuries, their more express citation must prove unnecessary.

Several of the Periodical Reviewers extended their criticisms to the first edition of this volume. With whatever variety of opinion upon other points, they were agreed to mark their approbation of it in at least one respect—its impartiality. The observations of the *Quarterly Reviewer* were, apparently, (to adopt that Reviewer's own epithets, applied to it), "so fairly written and intended," that, the Author deems it but right to say, he has adopted his advice so far, as "to reconsider the grounds and the consistency of some of his opinions;" but, at the same time, that his indulging in views still more favourable to Cromwell has been the result. Some omissions will also appear in this edition;

which, for the reason just mentioned, he would have been happy, had the truth permitted him, to have acknowledged as made in pursuance of, as well as in consonance with, the strictures of the same critic. But the fact is, that those omissions were arranged, in the corrections for a new edition, before the publication of the strictures in question; and flowed simply from his own matured resolution, to omit *every thing* of the nature of allusion to political events posterior to the TIMES of OLIVER CROMWELL.

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INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

Philip de Comines, who lived in times preceding, by upwards of a century, those of our unfortunate monarch the first Charles, observed, with characteristic simplicity, "Now, in my judgment, among all the sovereignties I know in the world, that in which the public good is best attended to, and the least violence exercised upon the people, is that of England."* This observation of a judicious writer, occurring at so early a period of our constitutional history, appears the more remarkable when we contrast it with the fact, that the subsequent revolution of one hundred years, instead of strengthening the natural satisfaction of the same people with a sovereignty thus commended by a continental writer, was found to have set a majority among them to reasoning upon its principles; denying the ex-

* Memoires de Comines, I. v. xix.

istence of the basis on which it assumed indefeasibly to rest; venturing to contend with it, at first with arguments, and then with arms; and, by successively triumphing in both, eventually subverting its authority. Was the CONSTITUTION of England, we are naturally tempted to enquire, *the same* at these two distinct periods of its history?—and if not, from whence arose, and in what consisted, the dissimilarity? Were THE PEOPLE *changed*?—and if they were, to what causes must a change, attended with effects so singular in appearance, be ascribed?

The ingenious and sensible De Lolme, whose work on the Constitution of England every Englishman should read, to be fully sensible of the political advantages that *in right* belong to him as such, seems yet to err in assuming the general principle, that the constitution of this, unlike that of all other countries in the world, is so happily guarded by the constant operation of *check*, maintained upon each other by its constituent parts, that its deterioration in all times, future to those in which he wrote, is rendered next only to impossible. The maxim would have been far less exceptionable, that the operation of check once essentially weakened in either of the constituent parts, the entire constitution is in danger of being destroyed. Thus, the King and the Peers both have in past times lost, and in the march of possibilities may again

lose, the power of check over the inferior house of legislature; and democracy has been, and by such means might again be, established. Or the Commons' House, it is possible, (notwithstanding that such events are fitly provided against by statute), *may* become the very creature of the nobler assembly; and shall the creature presume to enter the balances with its creator? Or the King, the *constitutional* King, of England—he, who, in so many senses, may constitutionally be styled the sun of our political system—the centre, around which the various orders in the state, at the distances appointed by their just orbits, constantly revolve—the retaining cause of their different degrees of approximation to himself, both in situation and in splendour—the source of their very vitality, as parts of that grand, complex, national whole, to the utmost extent of which his ascendancy reaches, and attracts, and enlightens, and, by benefiting, sways—alas! even THE KING *may* derive, from this very superlative nature of his office, some all-powerful talisman, by which *check* in the other members of the government may be rendered as impotent, as were the attempt in any member of the planetary system to make a more near approach to the monarch of the material universe.

While, therefore, De Lolme is admitted to be an authority, generally, as a constitutional

writer, the author of the present work confesses that he has felt himself less satisfied with his apparent design to establish the principle above-mentioned, than he had been to meet with the substance of the following axioms, (that by him would have been so much better expressed) in his pages:—*That, in all states, to whatever perfection their governments may have been brought, the seeds of those two fatal extremes of society,* SLAVERY *and* ANARCHY, *are implanted, along with the other unhappy elements of human nature; and, through gradual changes in the constituent parts of those governments, may silently mature, though scarcely attracting the notice of those whom it most behoves to regard them, until at length, having awaited only the united operation of misrule and favourable circumstances, the one of them will expand and overpower, or each with fearful rapidity will succeed the growth of, the other:—that* GREAT MORAL CHANGES, *at work within a people, since they can seldom be unattended with the probability of their producing equally important political ones, should be watched, and not disregarded; appreciated, and not despised; with dignity, but with readiness, administered to, and not by agitated violence vainly attempted to be repressed, on the part of the constituted authorities:*—while, on the other hand, *that a people, whose government has unfortunately become des-*

potic, should resume the functions they originally conferred, only for the purpose of putting due restrictions upon their future operation: remembering that though, in the exercise of their undoubted right to amend (even perforce, when circumstances absolutely demand it) the institutions by which they are governed, they may have lawfully possessed themselves, for the moment, both of the executive and legislative powers, THEY CANNOT, *either in right or in fact, either collectively or in the persons of representatives,* RETAIN THEM BOTH: *for that if they could, in their own persons, society would have arrived at that state of perfection by which all government would be rendered unnecessary; and if in the persons of representatives, such representatives, and themselves likewise, must equally have become divested of those differences in talent, and those common human passions, by the operation of which, an individual or individuals from among them will always be incited to desire, and sooner or later will be certain to obtain,* AN EXECUTIVE MASTERY. Simple as may be thought these axioms, it might require but little argument to prove, that their timely recollection on the part of the governors and the governed, would have operated to prevent the whole train of revolutionary evils that overwhelmed England in the earlier part of the seventeenth century, as their practical adoption did prevent

such at the justly-styled 'glorious' revolution of 1688.

England, like all the other monarchical states of Europe, owes the leading principle of her political system to those *feudal* institutions, of which monarchy, from their nature, formed a part. And monarchy is a form of government, in itself so simple and so natural, so fitted to the frame to which society, in its rudest or most polished state, can most readily and with the greatest advantage adjust itself, that it is neither to be wondered at, that the idea of it should have been impressed upon the minds of men in the earliest times, or that its constitutions should have been retained to the present era. But the feudal spirit, that originated monarchy in Europe, was in itself so little capable of improving it to wise governing purposes, that the Norman Conqueror of England, who carried feudal institutions in this country to the utmost perfection of which they were perhaps capable, was, it may be, of all the sovereigns recorded in her history, the most absolute despot.* For, by the sublimity of his

* The Saxon constitution of England, it is true, was, in a great degree, feudal, and, in so far as it admitted of villeinage in the lowest classes, slavish; but it is rendered extremely probable, by records of indisputable authority, that, agreeably

feudal genius, William attached a consequence to his crown, in the too heightened splendours of which the rights of the free subjects of England grew dim, and declined; and in the end, (though he occasionally deferred, there can be no doubt, to convocations of *all* the barons, major and minor, of the land), by his perfecting the system of military tenures, and by his alterations of those Saxons laws he had so solemnly sworn to maintain, his commands became as imperative upon the nobles of every degree, as upon

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to Saxon usage, every subject of the degree of *thane* (afterward rendered *baron*) was endowed with the privilege, which he exercised or not at his discretion, of forming a part of the great national council, by which the laws were enacted that regulated his own civil conduct, and the proportion of his contributions toward the expences of the state; while, in the same capacity, he advised the monarch on the public affairs, and arraigned his public actions, or those of his officers;—thus possessing, and possessing personally, not by representation, the loftiest attributes of a freeman. At the same time, the ordinary administration of justice was *local* throughout the realm, and its administrators neither appointed by, nor dependent on, the royal authority. In fact, the early political institutions of all nations are necessarily popular in a considerable degree; for no society of men, although they may perceive the expediency of giving themselves a common head, will ever intend that the chieftain of their own appointing shall, at the existing or any future period, govern entirely without reference to their common approbation.

the very bondmen attached to the soil. And yet, it is especially deserving of remark, that very slavery, which he had thus found means equally to impose upon all classes of the people whom he subdued, proved, in union with those remembrances of Saxon liberty he could not crush, the sources, when the power he had created was sustained by weaker hands, of *that principle of counterpoise, to which every order in the state at length became subjected*, which, to the constitution, up to the present day, should be deemed the life, and the strength, and the only certain earnest of durability. The means, by which this grand, stable, and useful principle was in great degree developed in the early ages of the monarchy, and through which, even in those early ages, as was noticed by Comines, it made *large approaches to perfection*, will be seen in a brief review of the reigns of the immediate successors of the Norman Conqueror, and those of their successors, inclusively, down to Henry the Seventh.

The Conqueror attached a degree of consequence to his crown, possessed by that of no other European prince; and indeed laid the foundations of its greatness so securely, that it has seemed enhaloed by a sacred lustre through each succeeding age; and nothing but the grossest misconduct, accompanied by the grossest weakness, in its wearer, have ever

proved of force to wrest it from the head it had once virtually encircled, even though unlawfully. This sacredness of character, inherent in the crown of England, is, whatever well-meaning asserters of undue popular independence may imagine, a main pillar of support to her true constitution. Other European sovereigns, at the period of William's sway, continued to reign by little other than the sufferance of numerous scarcely inferior sovereigns, their chief nobility; while the power of the nobility themselves continued despotic over the people. In consequence, there arising no community of interests, of which the people formed a part, in opposition to those of the sovereign head, the various contests that ensued between the kings and their nobles, ended only in more effectually securing the advantages of the party that obtained the mastery, without procuring, as De Lolme so properly remarks, "the acknowledgment of one popular right, or the removal of one popular grievance." And, in process of time, every European state, that of England alone excepted, became either a despotic, or a nullified sovereignty, or else an open aristocracy; while, in either case, the king, or the nobles, were the only real gainers. But the government of England, despotic from the first moment of its complete establishment by William, over

both the nobles and the people, was not long in forcing both heartily to coalesce against it, and thereby to secure the ends of both, in the issue of every contest with the kingly power, necessitated in such circumstances speedily to succumb. And yet, the reverence for the throne itself, thus successfully implanted by William in the breasts of his subjects, continued so effectually to operate upon all, that the union of the entire people with their lords against the single individual in possession of it, became not, until centuries had passed away, a cause to apprehend for a moment its actual subversion. Happily for England, that reverence has continued, through every period of her history, eventually at least, to prevail; so that, although its temporary subversion did once in fact take place, it was found impossible to graft upon the tree of liberty, so emphatically the tree of our country, that sapling, (in general of precocious growth), *a republic*, which, even though matured by time, and arrived at its latest perfections, is second only, in the advantages of real popular utility, to a genuine mixed monarchy, or, to speak literally, *a monarchy of counterpoises*.

Nearly half a century had elapsed since the Conquest, before the symptoms of a coalition of interests between the nobles and the people began to be perceived by the reigning monarch, and then only as a consequence of his weakness

—not of character, but of situation. Henry the first, having possessed himself of the crown to the prejudice of the rightful heir, his elder brother, saw that, to retain it, he must conciliate the affections, not merely of the barons, but of *the people*. Accordingly, several of the severer statutes of the Conqueror, and, among others, that ordaining the seclusion of every subject within his own abode at the melancholy sound of the *curfew*, were rescinded; and such mitigations of the feudal law, as were granted to the barons, were also enjoined to be extended by them to their feudatories. This was the first blow aimed at the feudal system, hitherto more complete in all its parts in this than in any other country, by the monarch on the throne; and it was ably seconded by his successor, in the revival of that ancient Saxon institution, *trial by jury*. Both these princes, however, though possessing great strength of intellect, were guided by the principle of self-security, it is probable, at least equally with enlarged views of government, in making these concessions; but, having been made, no weaker or more tyrannous monarch could recal them. John was both tyrannous and weak: the consequence was, a vast extension of those concessions in MAGNA CHARTA; and if *the people* did not immediately reap the benefit of its provisions, it was because that time was required,

(such a length of time even as should achieve the extinction of the feudal power of the nobles over their inferiors,) for both their governors and themselves to become assimilated to the full consequences of their adoption. But while, in theory at least, such extensive strides toward liberty were made by this compact between the nation and its king, how awful must have been the power possessed by the crown in fact, when a monarch, situated as was John, was neither hurled from his throne by the united force of an assembled and exasperated people, nor any revolution so much as thought of, but that of placing justice in the seat previously occupied by royal will, the abolition or alteration of the essentials to royalty itself never being for a moment contemplated!

With the reign of Henry the third, expired the heretofore gradually disused common-councils of the realm, composed of the barons, of whose number and qualifications we are so indistinctly informed; a form of government having been planned, novel in several of its features, and which became the basis of the present constitution of England. The elements of Saxon liberty had fermented, instead of becoming extinct, through the restraints of Norman tyranny; and, working with the commercial habits of the Saxon people, which had grown even under the military system more calculated for their sub-

version, had produced an order of men, whose numbers rendered them of importance throughout the civil distractions of this reign. These were the inhabitants of cities and considerable towns, many of which are known to have flourished in the Saxon times, and some are, with much appearance of probability, supposed to have even then possessed a voice in the national council by a species of *representation.* The lineaments of a legislature, one of whose component parts should be wholly formed upon this principle, and should regularly include citizens and burgesses, were now drawn; and what was feebly and partially carried into effect in the reign of Henry, was firmly established in that of his so highly gifted successor, the first Edward. By him, so justly named the English Justinian, the Commons' House of Parliament was first legalised, and rendered efficient to the double purpose of granting subsidies to the crown, and petitioning for the redress of grievances: and though the powers of that House were as yet confined to these articles, its simple legal establishment, resting as it did upon the acknowledged importance of the people, was of necessity a step to the increase of its authority, in proportion to the inevitable increase of that importance. Saxon institutions, yet vital with the spirit of Alfred, had now fought the good fight with the feudal genius of the Conqueror,

and, in their turn, had conquered; nay, assisted by commerce, they had revived with advantages, greater than might have existed had the conflict never been waged. To Alfred, and to the commerce that even at this early period had made such advances in England, do we in reality perhaps most owe the constitution so long its pride; but especially those most important parts of it, which relate to the system of representation, and the administration of justice: in regard to the latter, we may even suppose that the concessions of John, (called for by the Norman princes having scandalously *sold* justice in their own courts, instead of continuing the local courts of Saxon times,) were wrung from that monarch by the influence of the inhabitants of great towns and cities, conjointly with that of the numerous lesser barons; since the now perhaps equal wealth and consequence of these two classes, must have rendered them equally desirous of the abolition of practices, to which they were naturally more obnoxious than the great barons, whose power could controul, or than the serfs, who were still almost without the pale of legal forms. The necessities of the first Edward, the consequences of his scarcely intermitted prosecution of expensive wars, concurred to favour the rise of the popular ascendancy: for, as he found himself, from a variety of causes, dependent, in a greater degree

than any of his Norman predecessors, upon the people, for the supplies necessary to the continuance of his martial enterprises, he was induced, to secure their support, to make those concessions of undue prerogative, by which their support was most readily to be obtained; and, at length, the statute *de tallagio non concedendo* formally decreed, that the imposition of taxes, of every kind, should in future be only by and with the joint consent of the lords and commons in parliament assembled.

The constitution now rapidly approached to the degree of perfection of which it was capable, as applying to the as yet limited wants of a people, whose moral cultivation, and whose thirst for liberty as a consequence, were yet equally so. Under the sway of the second Edward, the right of petitioning, the dawn of legislating in their own persons, was more fully ascertained by the practice of the Commons; and under that of Edward the Third, they not only expressly declared that they would acknowledge no laws to which their assent had not been formally obtained, but they commenced the exercise of that important privilege, upon which is poised one of the nicest equilibria of the state, the privilege of impeaching royal ministers. Henry the Fourth beheld them insisting upon the wisest conditions, in return for their acknowledgment of his autho-

rity; and even withholding their subsidies, until answers to their petitions had been granted. Afterward, though, in consequence of the protracted war with France, and the intestine commotions so long fomented by the houses of York and Lancaster, improvement in the forms of government was a thing but little attended to, yet the commencement of every reign was generally made the occasion of procuring for the Commons some additions to their eminence in the state, and some accessions to the general liberty of the people. But at length, after the tranquil settlement of Henry the Seventh, in whom both the opposing factions that had so long desolated the kingdom found a representative, by his union with a princess of the rival house, the constitution at first became stationary, and then by degrees most unhappily retrograded. The causes of this great national calamity, for such in after times it proved, it will be in unison with these remarks briefly to enquire.

Civil commotions, it would sometimes appear, are useful or injurious to the progress of a free constitution, according as they are limited in their disastrous effects, or rather in the time of their operation. If they are of no long continuance, and therefore do not prove very generally destructive to the lives or properties of the community, the agitation they excite

may be favourable to the march of liberty, by exciting those healthy collisions of ideas on political subjects, by which the spirit of liberty is most effectually generated. But, on the contrary, when intestine conflicts are protracted, the opposite rancours of men's minds, extended on either side to large bodies of the nation, at length produce such demoniacal consequences, that the very name of opposition to the authority, in the arms of which the state has at last settled, becomes hateful to be contemplated; and the power thus ultimately gaining the ascendant may, for a time, govern at will, provided only that it secures to the people the now sole object of their wishes—repose. And if, to this sad issue of a long civil war, be added the destruction of all, or the major part, of those, who were formerly most dreaded by the power eventually triumphant, and of course the removal of every intermediate check between its government and the people to be governed, its operations are, indeed, likely to be direful. Thus situated, in both respects, was England, at the close of the long rivalry between the houses of York and Lancaster.

Both the nobility and the people had suffered to an immense extent, and Henry alone had come a gainer out of the contest. The nobility were almost exterminated; and the people, so long accustomed to seek supporters in their lords,

and as yet without an idea of popular leaders who could make an efficient head against royalty, had not a resource in the then order of things; and even though they had, they were so weighed upon by the languor produced by previous over excitement, that they would have been unable to take advantage of it. As matters stood, it became of the most imminent necessity to restore counterpoise to the state, by the restoration of some considerable portion of the ancient consequence of the nobility in political affairs; and this as a mean to prevent the dangers that must ultimately accrue to the crown itself, from the people finding themselves unconstitutionally governed by it, without an operative middle order of men, to break, and occasionally to repel, the descent of the increased authority it held over them. But Henry, feeling the power of the crown to be superior to what it had ever been since the Conquest, (more particularly in his having acquired the prerogative, enjoyed by no former sovereign, William perhaps excepted, of creating Peers without consent of the Upper House, and at pleasure,) was naturally unsolicitous to replace an influence, that, sustained by the people, had proved the most effectual curb to the pretensions of his predecessors: doubtless, he was even pleased to perceive not the shadow of 'a rival near the throne,' and

had besides his private revenges to appease on the remnant of a nobility, now utterly deserted and defenceless. Nay, he went farther, for he shewed a disposition to elevate the people at their expence ; but the people were too supine to avail themselves, to any extent, of the opportunity. In fine, that his reign, though sufficiently tyrannical, was not so much so as under all the circumstances might have been expected, appears to have been owing to the novelty of his situation, and to his not perceiving, or perhaps not relishing, the political victim, immolated before his eyes upon the altar of national discord, with the intuitive gust, with which nature appears to have endowed his successor.

That successor, the too notorious Henry the Eighth, reigned rather like the worst of the Roman emperors, than the head of a limited monarchy. The ancient nobility, whom he yet farther humbled and insulted, bent unresistingly to his most extravagant and most arbitrary caprices. Parliament was the minister of his will, rather than a restraint upon his tyranny: and every the faintest murmur died upon the lips of the dejected populace. Still, there were two indisputable facts, in close connection with his government, which, had it been the age to philosophise, would have afforded hope to consideration, and balm to the aggriev-

ed, but not absolutely broken, spirit of liberty. Our overbearing Eighth Henry was necessitated *to derive his supplies* from a House of Commons, by no means uniformly obsequious to the expression of his desires in that respect, though it unblushingly assented to them in every other; and—be it eternally recorded, since his tyranny thus differed from that of most despots with whom history acquaints us, and since it emphatically proves that at least one corner-stone to the constitution, reverence for the kingly office simply as such, was as yet unworn by the storms of ages—he reigned, even thus despotically, *without the slightest assistance from a standing army*. The existence of two such facts, it is repeated, was sufficient to demonstrate, that the vital powers of the constitution slumbered indeed, but were far from utterly extinguished.

The short reign of the youthful and virtuous Edward the Sixth, was little competent to repair the inroads made upon constitutional government by his father and grandfather; although he abated many of the abuses they had introduced, and was moderate in all points of his personal sway. Mary's tyranny was little observed, in a political sense, because its source and objects were generally of a religious nature; and the arbitrary rule of Elizabeth was yet more disguised by the easy, unaffected dig-

nity with which she exercised her sternest prerogatives; as though, which was undoubtedly the case, she felt them to be proper and natural to the authority that had devolved upon her. Besides, the greatness of her mind was such, that she experienced but few temptations to use her power for any other purposes than those conducive to the good of her subjects; and her reign was a national honour, capable of veiling from their eyes much greater defects than were suffered to be obtruded to public view in her career of government. But, during all these latter reigns, a secret foe to single, unchecked rule, or misrule, (for it had been manifested, that, so circumstanced, it might be either, according to the personal disposition and talents of the sovereign,) was growing within the breasts of the people; and, as the crown had heretofore crushed the influence of the nobility, that constitutional balance between the people and itself, the people, in their turn, (*assisted* now, not *led*, by the nobility) were destined to crush the constitutional as well as arbitrary kingly prerogative.

The political tempest gathered, however, during a whole succeeding reign without bursting. Its elements continued to congregate; and, what was singular, James the First, the prince now under consideration, himself assisted

to collect and form them. Those elements, in the burst of which so magnificently appeared that destroyer of despotism, MENTAL ILLUMINATION, were derived from a three-fold source; viz. the *Reformation*, *Printing*, and immensely-extended *Commerce*. By the united agency of these mighty engines, not only were the minds of all informed and lifted up, but, in the effervescence of their early workings, the spirits generally agitated: all, to use a familiar expression, was *agog* throughout the nation.—Elizabeth had perceived, though she had not fully comprehended, the growing symptoms of this universal stir: but she had wisely given it a direction; and its fruits in her reign were, emulation in the pursuit of learning, ardour in commercial enterprises, and chivalrous self-devotedness to her service, and to that of the country. The accession of a new family to the throne, in the person of James, seems first to have diverted the general mind to political subjects; and disquisitions on hereditary right, and on the right of transference in the nation, were succeeded by enquiries into the original nature of the kingly right itself, and by endeavours to ascertain the just boundaries of kingly prerogative. But all opinions formed on these subjects were at first purely speculative; it remained for James, by descending into the po-

pular arena, and combatting the doctrines newly broached by royal sophisms and literary pedantry, to render their operation practical. He stoutly contended, that the authority of kings, like that of God himself, was of a nature not to be discussed or questioned; that the rights, for which the people argued, were nothing more than emanations of the sovereign grace of his predecessors, to be re-granted or re-called at pleasure; that his own right (of course) was divine; and the birthright and inheritance contended for by the nation—unlimited subjection to the royal prerogative.* When such dogmas proceeded from the throne, and found, as (since the Reformation constituted the *King* supreme head of the church) has proved too common, their echo in the pulpit, it is no wonder that all eyes were directed to the place from whence, and the exalted personage by whom, they were promulgated. All unbiassed minds, and even all dispassionately loyal hearts, instantaneously

* James, on more than one occasion, laid it down, in his speeches to Parliament, that, "as it is atheism and blasphemy in a creature to dispute what the Deity may do, so it is presumption and sedition in a subject to dispute what a King may do in the height of his power. Good Christians (he adds) will be content with God's will, revealed in his word; and good subjects will rest in the King's will, revealed in *his* law." *King James's Works*, 557, 531.

rejected them; and a sentiment of irreverence, not wholly unmingled with contempt, for the monarch who had thus weakly betrayed both his vanity and his arbitrary principles, found, for the first time, a place in the bosoms of Englishmen.

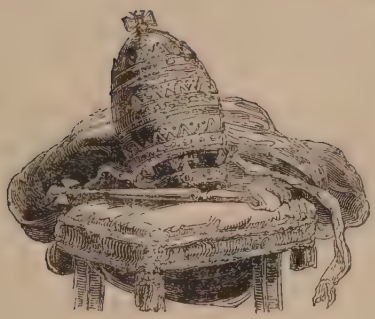
Under such a combination of ill-boding circumstances, did Charles the First enter upon the exercise of the sovereign authority. Prejudices of an hundred and fifty years standing, in favour of that piece of royal childishness, *divine right*, were in him more hereditary than his crown; and, besides, the example afforded by the successful despotism of several continental kings, who, like his immediate predecessors on the English throne, had elevated themselves to absolute power on the ruins of a feudal nobility, read more volumes, than the arguments of his subjects contained words, to the ears of a prince, who had been instructed to contemn popular opinion from his infancy.—Charles, unfortunately, did not perceive, that if, after the destruction of the feudal power of the nobles in France, Spain, &c. the people had sunk quietly into the arms of despotism, it was because they had failed to become, like the English, the co-assertors with their tyrannous lords of the *general* liberty; and that, in consequence, (being also uninvested of the

trammels of slavery's best advocate, superstition, and unblest with remembrances of previously successful struggles with *their* monarchs for national freedom) they were, as yet, disposed to rejoice in the change of numerous absolute masters for the more unfelt, because more distant, domination of one.

In addition to the political circumstances of the times just enumerated, religious dissensions had been gaining ground during the entire reign of James; and had begun to cloud the language of nearly all ranks, including the very dregs of the populace, with a jargon (as by them adopted) of scriptural terms, before the commencement of that of his successor. The Reformation had been the original source and spur to these dissensions; but, as the Popish doctrines of that day were far more in unison with the royal pretensions of the same period than the Protestant, a leaning toward them was, and certainly with too much reason, suspected in the Church's Head; and the numerous ceremonies, savouring of Popery, suffered to be retained in her ritual, had already occasioned numbers to think it necessary seriously to set about reforming the Reformation itself. Religious enthusiasm, proceeding from its operation upon the sentiments and language, began rapidly to evince itself in the public and private

conduct of countless individuals, of whom many were returned as the popular representatives in Parliament. Strong natural faculties, united with ardent imaginations, as they were the most likely to become prominent in such times, were the most readily selected for this service by men, whose own feelings were strong, and who beheld in such representatives the fit vehicles of their expression. Assembled under these concurrent circumstances, the Commons, (though at first more willing to contest than hoping to obtain) being taught by the weakness of the monarch, at length looked around on the nation, and on each other, with the heartfelt assurance of a sympathetic, undefined, but irrepressible elation and expansion in the minds of all. In one auspicious moment, they became conscious of their whole strength; they saw that they united zeal, judgment, and capacity, sufficient to work out the restoration of their liberties in their own persons; they no longer required the intervention of a band of nobles, to shield them from the rays of majesty, when approaching its sanctuary, and requiring its compliance with their just demands; and intuitively perceiving, that changes of the most important character HAD taken place, in the constitution—in the great body of the people—in themselves—they rightly imputed the former

to the culpable ambition of their princes; but they erred in ascribing the latter to a cause religious for the most part rather than political; to a divine breathing on the country in their times, rather than to the natural aspirations of long dormant LIBERTY, now re-awakened, and on the eve of being restored, by GENERAL ILLUMINATION OF MIND.



OLIVER CROMWELL,

AND

HIS TIMES.

*** The *Notes* in this volume are arranged with a view to convenience in the perusal. When intimately connected with, or forming in fact a continuation of the subject matter from which they refer, (and not too long) they are placed at the foot of the page : when their connection with the text is remote, or when, from their length, or too frequent recurrence, they might prove disagreeable interruptions to the reader, the reference (by letters) is to their situation in the Appendix.

CHAPTER I.

FROM CROMWELL'S BIRTH TO HIS APPEARANCE IN PARLIAMENT.

Brief View of his General Character—Birth and Descent—Juvenilia—Enters the University of Cambridge—Early Irregularities—Marriage—Supposed to become a *Brewer* at Huntingdon—Is twice elected a Member for that Borough—Moderate Conduct in Parliament.

Of all men living at the era of political and religious conflict just described, Oliver Cromwell was perhaps the best calculated, not merely to 'ride in the whirlwind and direct

the storm,' but to direct it so as invariably to promote his own advantages. Himself, past doubt, both a political and religious enthusiast, he was certain, from that circumstance alone, of securing the consideration, applause, and hearty services, of numbers; and, being at the same time gifted with a very extraordinary portion of a most opposite quality, self-command, he could instantly, when his interests required it, bid the current of his own feelings subside, while he continued to avail himself of the full tide of those of others. By turns sincere, and a hypocrite; a religionist, and a zealous worldling; a man of gravity, and (almost) a buffoon; a preacher, and a punster; a clown, and a gentleman; stately, and familiar; slovenly, and precise; an orator, and without words to express himself;—cautious, and yet enterprizing; ardent, and yet methodical; ready, and yet invariably politic;—his very defects were made to turn to his account, almost equally with his admirable qualities; and, by nearly literally becoming 'all things to all men,' he contrived to elevate himself above all his competitors.

This most singular combination of contradictions in mortal mould, was born at Huntingdon, April 25th, 1599, *(a)* of a good family, both by his father's and mother's side. Milton tells us, he "was descended of an house noble

and illustrious;" and we have information on the subject, of which there can be no reason to suspect the accuracy, from his own mouth, in his speech, Sept. 12, 1654, to his first Parliament; in which he says, "I was by birth a gentleman, neither living in any considerable height, nor yet in obscurity." Mr. Robert Cromwell, his father, was the second son of Sir Henry Cromwell, himself eldest son and heir to Sir Richard Williams, alias Cromwell, who, as the issue of Morgan Williams, by his marriage with a sister of Thomas Lord Cromwell, Earl of Essex, *assumed*, like his father, the name of Cromwell. The family of Williams, of Welch extraction, was itself ancient and reputable. *(b)* Sir Oliver, Mr. Robert Cromwell's elder brother, and uncle to Oliver the Protector, was knighted by Queen Elizabeth; created a Knight of the Bath by King James; and married a daughter of Sir Thomas Bromley, Lord High Chancellor of England, and, upon her death, Lady Anne, widow of Sir Horatio Palavacini, of Babram, Cambridgeshire. *(c)* Mr. Robert Cromwell, it appears from good authority, was in the commission of the peace for the borough of Huntingdon; member of Parliament for the same borough in the 35th of Elizabeth; and one of the commissioners for draining the fens of his own and the adjoining counties in 1605. Of his wife, Elizabeth, Oliver's mother, nothing

is very certainly known; except that she was the daughter of William Steward, Esq. of the city of Ely, and widow of William Lynne, Gent. of Bassingbourne: according to Mr. Noble, indeed, she was descended from a branch of the royal family of Stuart, which ultimately possessed both the Scottish and English thrones; and, from the pedigree given by him, it would actually appear that Oliver was a remote cousin to his future illustrious victim, Charles the First. But it is unquestionable, that the Cromwell (or Williams) family was allied, collaterally, and by marriage, with some of the most distinguished names and titles in England.

There would seem but slender reason, however, to doubt the so often repeated assertion, that Oliver's father, being a younger brother, and not very munificently provided for, engaged (both wisely and honourably, as prejudice alone will deny) in trade, for the better support of that numerous family of ten children, of whom Oliver was the only son that attained the age of manhood. Coke * tells us, "his father being asked whether he knew the Protector, he said —'Yes, and *his* father too, when he kept his *brew-house* in Huntingdon.'" And Sir William Dugdale† relates, that "Robert

* Detection II. 57. Lond. 1694.

† Short View of the Troubles in England, p. 458, Oxon. Folio. 1681.

Cromwell, though he was, by the countenance of his elder brother, made a justice of peace in Huntingdonshire, had but a slender estate, much of his support being a *brew-house* in Huntingdon." Oliver's own assertion, that he "was *by birth* a gentleman," would in no sense be disproved, since his descent was really next only to illustrious, by this circumstance; and Harris, in his 'Historical and Critical Account' of the Protector, not improperly remarks, that "every reasonable and considerate person will think it no discredit to the family;" for that, "*in England*, trade is not disgraceful to a gentleman."

The possessions of Mr. Robert Cromwell, which he enjoyed independently of his business, were of the yearly value of about £300; they were chiefly in and near Huntingdon, and had previously belonged to a monastery of Augustine Friars. His usual residence, however, was in a house that had formed part of the dissolved Hospital of St. John, or had been erected with its materials upon its site; and here Mrs. Cromwell continued the management of the brewery after her husband's death, for which indeed she was well qualified by her having mainly conducted it in his life-time.

Little has been related, that can be implicitly depended on, relative to the youth of Oliver: but so far as what has been said of his character

and propensities at that early period, will harmonise with what is known of him in maturer years, it is entitled to passing attention; though his after power was no doubt the source of many inventions, eagerly credited by the multitude for the tincture of the marvellous contained in them.*

His education, we are told, was at first intrusted to the Rev. Mr. Long, of Hunt-

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* "His very infancy," says Noble, if we believe what Mr. Audley, brother to the famous civilian, says he had heard some old men tell his grandfather, "was marked with a peculiar accident, that seemed to threaten the existence of the future Protector: for his grandfather, Sir Henry Cromwell, having sent for him to Hinchinbrooke, (near Huntingdon, the ancient family seat) when an infant in arms, a *monkey* took him from his cradle, and ran with him upon the lead that covered the roofing of the house. Alarmed at the danger Oliver was in, the family brought beds to catch him upon, fearing the creature's dropping him down; but the sagacious animal brought the 'Fortune of England' down in safety: so narrow an escape had he, who was doomed to be the Conqueror and Sovereign Magistrate of three mighty nations, from the paws of a monkey." He is also said to have been once saved from drowning by a Mr. Johnson, curate of Cunnington; a fact more credible, perhaps, than that the same worthy clergyman should, at a future period, when Oliver was marching at the head of his troops through Huntingdon, have told him, that he "wished he had put him in, rather than have seen him in arms against his King:"—the latter part of which story is probably a loyal but fabulous appendage, tagged after the Restoration to the former.

ingdon; but that Mr Cromwell soon removed him to the care of Doctor Beard, master of the free grammar-school in that place, and "a very learned and sensible person." That, even at this early age, he was "aspiring, stubborn, and obstinate," does not appear improbable; and that when at school, (according to Heath, in his scurrilous "*Flagellum*,") he "had fits of learning, now a hard student for a week or two, and then a truant, or otioso, for twice as many months —of no settled constancy,"—this, if allowances are but made for the exaggerations of an enemy, will seem only to prove that his genius, as every one knows is not uncommon, had in it a considerable dash of versatility. But, when the same author gravely recounts his depredations upon orchards and dove-cotes—while we admit the strong likelihood of a youth of daring turn being guilty of these juvenile offences—we are compelled to pity the malice, or the courtly complaisance to the times for which he wrote, of the man, who could attempt, as he does, to swell such faults into crimes of first-rate magnitude.

Several writers mention a tradition at Huntingdon, yet repeated in that town, of an accidental meeting of Oliver and Charles I., when children, and nearly of the same age, at Hinchinbrooke House, at that time the seat of his uncle, Sir Oliver. This rencontre is stated to have taken place in the year 1603, on occasion

of the journey of Charles, then Duke of York, from Scotland to London; but it must have occurred, if at all, in September, 1604, to which period the coming of this young prince was deferred on account of indisposition, although the King his father had acceded to the English throne in the previous year. The story, however, acquires support from the known fact, that the mansion of the singularly worthy and loyal knight was generally one of the resting places of the royal family, when either going to, or returning from, the north to the English capital, as it had been that of James in his first progress to take possession of his southern kingdom. But what fixed the attention of the lovers of prognostications in that and succeeding ages, was, that 'the youths had not been long together, before Charles and Oliver disagreed; and, as the former was then as weakly as the latter was strong, it was no wonder that the royal visitant was worsted; and Oliver, even at this age, so little regarded dignity, that he made the royal blood flow in copious streams from the prince's nose.'* 'This,' adds our author, 'was looked upon as a bad presage for that king when the civil wars commenced.

The same writer relates as 'more certain,' and what Oliver himself, he says, 'often averred, when he was at the height of his glory,'

* Noble.

that, on a certain night in childhood, he 'saw a gigantic figure, which came and opened the curtains of his bed, and told him that he should be the greatest person in the kingdom, but did not mention the word *king*;' and, continues the Reverend narrator, 'though he was told of the folly as well as wickedness of such an assertion, he persisted in it; for which he was flogged by Doctor Beard, at the particular desire of his father;—notwithstanding which, he would sometimes repeat it to his uncle Stewart, who told him it was traitorous to relate it.' Different versions have been given of this tale: it even finds a place, with much other serious anti-monarchical matter, in what Lord Clarendon so intemperately (as the great Fox observed) called his 'History of the Rebellion:' but we dismiss it for the moment, again to recur to the pages of that indefatigable collector, Mark Noble.

'Whilst he was at the free grammar-school at Huntingdon, according to annual custom, a play was acted: the comedy of Lingua was chosen;—nothing would satisfy him but the part of Tactus;'—and one scene, it is said, in which '*a crown and other regalia* are discovered, *(d)* particularly affected him.'

The highly ingenious and amusive comedy of Lingua, the author of which remains to the present day unknown, represents a contest be-

tween the tongue and the senses—the former being supposed ambitious to be ranked among the latter—supporting their various personifications, together with those of several abstract qualities, as memory, &c. with admirable force and humour; and whimsically ending by allotting 'the *sense* of speaking' to *women* only. It was first printed in 1607; and it is stated in that impression to have been acted both at Trinity College, Cambridge, and at the free grammar-school in Huntingdon. So much of the story of the comedy being therefore ascertained to be correct, the truth of that, and the *day-light* appearance of the ominous spectre, taken together, and divested of all amplification, may be no more than this. To Oliver might be assigned, whether by his own choice or otherwise, the part of Tactus, or *Touch*. Tactus is made to stumble upon a crown and robe, purposely placed in his way to entrap him; and as this is the incident on which the part principally turns, it were not to be wondered at, that it should lay some hold on the imagination of the youth who sustained it.—*After*, perhaps immediately after, playing the chief character in such a scene, the right wonderful and royal *dream* before related, (for a dream, if any thing, it will be considered of course) would have to the full as much resemblance to the dramatic incident, as those phan-

tasies of the wakeful brain are wont to have, when, in our sleeping hours, they recal to us by grotesque imagery events of real life in which we have been engaged. Allowing this to be the most probable account of two trifling circumstances, of which so many and such various accounts have been given, it will be readily seen that their whole consequence arose, not from their being intrinsically remarkable, but from their after application to the rise and fortunes of Oliver.

From the grammar-school of his native town, Cromwell was entered a Fellow-commoner of Sydney-Sussex College, Cambridge, April 23, 1616. *(e)* As impartiality forbids our entertaining any very high idea of his parts or industry while at school, so we may the more readily credit Hume, when he says that, at the University, his genius was found little fitted for the calm and elegant occupations of learning, and that consequently he made small proficiencies in his studies. Sir William Dugdale even asserts, that he threw himself into a dissolute and disorderly course of life; being more famous whilst there for foot-ball, cricket, cudgelling, and wrestling, than for study; and that, being of a rough and blustering disposition, he acquired the name of *royster*. The truth may be, that he studied and was dissolute by turns; that at Cambridge, as every where,

he could not merely affect, but actually become, different characters upon different occasions; or could assume, without necessity, that best suited to his prevailing humour. That he acquired *some* knowledge of Latin, at least, either at school or college, is certain; and that he fell into vicious courses, and was addicted to rude sports, will agree with the all but universal admission of his youth's coarse daring and wilfulness. Mr. Robert Cromwell, his father, dying in 1617, it is probable, though we have no certain information on the subject, that he quitted the University upon that event.

After some time, Doctor Harris says, his mother sent him to Lincoln's Inn; where, instead of studying the law, he learned the follies and vices of the town. These points also have been generally admitted on all hands, though his name is not to be found in the records of the learned society; from which circumstance, his lately deceased representative, in his work alluded to in the Preface, inferred that he 'never was there.' It may, however, be worth while to remember, that a professed panegyrist, who wrote in the year following his death, positively asserts the fact.* But whether he spent

* "*He came to Lincoln's Inn*, where he associated himself with those of the best rank and quality, and the most ingenuous persons; for though he were of a nature not averse to

this period of his life in London or at Huntingdon, there can be nothing extremely incredible —unless to the very excusable partiality of Mr. O. Cromwell—in the charge of his being now engrossed by 'an habit of gaming, the juice of the grape, and the charms of the fair;' although his subsequent religious profession, and strict morality, should be admitted to the extent his warmest friends may wish. A liability to extremes in conduct, unfortunately, is one among the properties of all ardent minds; as though nature purposely intended to reduce their possessors, through this weakness, to something below the moral level of less-gifted mankind, as a set-off against the 'seraph-plumes,' with which they were otherwise too apt to wing their way above companionship with less intellectual but more stable mortals.

Yet it is only right to admit that, whatever were his earlier improprieties, they were of no long continuance. After some little time again passed at Huntingdon, he began, before he was

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study and contemplation, yet he seemed rather addicted to conversation and the reading of men, and their several tempers, than to a continual poring upon authors." (Pourtraiture of his Royal Highness Oliver, p. 8, 12mo. 1659.)—The most probable solution of the difficulty is, that he actually became a student of the law in the metropolis, but was entered at some other inn of court.

quite of age, to listen to the admonitions of a fond and venerable mother; he saw the folly of having lavished away great part of his property, and was not slow to feel compunction for the errors he had committed: he, in consequence, did not merely refrain from every kind of excess, but corrected his whole tone of manners. He now regularly attended divine service in his parish-church; the pastor of which, and all the neighbouring clergy, are related to have been much struck with the contrast between his recent irregularities and present example; renouncing at the same time his former vicious companions, and with them the extravagancies with which he had too long been but justly reproached.

One consequence of his reformation was, his early marriage with a woman deficient neither in piety, good sense, spirit, nor the accomplishments of her sex and age. This lady was Elizabeth Bourchier, daughter of Sir James Bourchier, of Fitsted, Essex. By her he had nine children; of whom five only survived him. The date of their marriage was August 22, 1620; and the place, it has been generally supposed, St. Giles's Church, Cripplegate, London.*—

* Noble: who seems to derive his information from a MS. Register, Coll. Arm. London; but it does not appear that the *parish* register of this marriage is in existence.

During not less than sixteen years following, he resided either at his native town, or at St. Ives, in the same county: his domestic and moral character, whatever his enemies may have advanced, irreproachable; and his religious distinguished, if at all, by its excess. Throughout this long period, it is probable that his mind, not yet awakened to its superior energies by events of much more than common magnitude, found sufficient occupation in the cares of his increasing family, in the exercise of a devotion as yet not greatly overstrained, and perhaps, since neither his own nor his wife's fortune were of an amount to relieve him from the duty of making some farther provision for his children, in business—and that his father's, for some considerable time at least—the brewing. The satirical ballads of that day ridiculed him for having been a brewer: *(f)* a liberty, that scarcely would have been taken with him at a time when there were so many living, who, from their own personal knowledge, must have been acquainted with the truth of the matter, had there been no actual foundation for the lack of gentility thus intended to be imputed to him. And it appears to the writer, that a passage, quoted from a panegyric, thought to be by Milton, in support of the doctrine that Cromwell never engaged in trade, would admit of a construction more consonant to the opinion just advanced.

The passage in question runs thus:—"being now arrived to a mature and ripe age, all which time he spent as a private person, noted for nothing so much as the culture of pure religion, and an integrity of life, he was *grown rich at home*, and had enlarged his hopes, relying upon God and a great soul, in a quiet bosom, for any the most exalted times." Omitting all present consideration of the rather remarkable concluding words, does not the expression "*grown* rich at home" seem to allow the inference, that is was by some trade or profession his property had thus increased; since to live without business, and at the same time reputably to bring up a numerous family, could hardly have conduced to its accumulation?

Several biographies of the Protector, by hostile writers, throw out more than one imputation upon him, affecting these his years of private life; but they are such as merit either to be passed by in silent contempt, or to be simply adduced, as carrying their own contradiction with them. Of the latter class is the assertion in Dugdale, that he endeavoured, but failed, 'by colour of law,' to obtain the estate of his uncle Steward, prior to the death of the latter, upon a representation that he was incapacitated by lunacy to govern it: for this same uncle is afterward represented to have left him heir to the property which, during the life-time of

the lawful owner, he had thus nefariously attempted to appropriate! But perhaps the best refutation to this, and all other such malicious inventions, is to be found in the fact, that he was chosen to represent the borough of Huntingdon, both in the first Parliament of Charles I., (anno 1625), and in the third, which met in January, 1628. Had he not himself possessed both property and the esteem of his fellow-townsmen, their suffrages would scarcely have been bestowed upon him; and how contrary a sentiment to that of approbation for a man, who was known to have conspired against the wealth of a near relative, would, in common likelihood, have prevailed amongst the inhabitants of a country borough, the reader will judge. It is tolerably apparent besides, that he owed his second election, equally with the first, to the *general* estimation in which his character was held; for it is irreconcileable, that the partiality he is said to have evinced for the then comparatively small number of nonconformists and enemies to the court, should alone have once more procured a seat in Parliament for the man, whose conduct in that assembly was so moderate even up to the year 1630, as not to prevent his being then nominated by the King, along with his old master, Dr. Beard, the high-steward, recorder, mayor, &c., for the time being, of the town, justices for the borough of Huntingdon.

In truth, no factious views appear at present to have possessed him ; ambition, afterwards so prominent in his character, as yet lay dormant ; and his opposition to the measures of the government, in the senate, must be admitted to have been both judicious and temperate, when the government itself manifested no offence at it. All this, however, would not square with the intentions of those, who, in writing his memoirs for courtly readers immediately after the Restoration, were determined to prove him a violent opponent to church and state from the very commencement of his political career. But there are epocha in the characters of men, at which not merely shades of difference, but direct contrasts of colouring, prevail ; and in no man, as his future history will show, were such shades and contrasts ever more apparent than in the extraordinary being, whose actions (to develope the truth as to whose real merits,) are about to be submitted to the reader.

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE OPENING OF THE THIRD PARLIAMENT OF CHARLES, TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF CROMWELL'S FORMAL OPPOSITION TO HIS GOVERNMENT.

Political retrospect—Cromwell's first recorded speech in the house—Charles's dissolution of his third parliament—Despotic conduct—Cromwell resident at St. Ives, as a *Farmer*—Removes to the Isle of Ely—His religious enthusiasm—Attempts to expatriate, but is prevented—His opposition to the King, arising out of the drainage of the Fens—Becomes popular—Summary of his future character.

VERY considerable talent, united with much prudent and wholesome respect for the kingly authority, had distinguished the general debates of Charles's two first parliaments; notwithstanding the boldness of their attacks upon some unconstitutional branches of the prerogative—in the preceding reign first generally perceived, in the present first openly declared, to be such—had occasioned inauspicious as peremptory dissolutions of them both. As yet, religion had neither become the stalking-horse of a political faction, nor the watchword of a fanatical democracy. But the king, his ministers, and their supporters in the courts of law, and yet more in the pulpit, had appeared resolved to employ the interval between the assembling of the se-

cond and third parliaments, in every possible way calculated to widen the already yawning breach between the people and the crown ; and to spread the conviction, that the interests of all classes of subjects, but those who reposed immediately beneath the shade of royalty, were opposed to its growing pretensions. Flaming court sermons, in express approbation of the forced loans, &c. to which Charles had recourse in his pecuniary difficulties, and explicitly declaring the obligation of the people to passive obedience and non-resistance, were rewarded by the speedy advancement of their authors ;* while the re-introduction of many remnants of the old Popish pomp, together with that of several Popish ceremonies, in the prelatical government and liturgical discipline of a church essentially Protestant, and to which as reformed

* One reverend time-server, a Dr. Sibthorpe, even went so far as to say from the pulpit, that in case the sovereign's commands proved contrary to the laws of God, or those of nature, or were actually of *impossible* execution, the subject must still 'patiently undergo the punishment of disobedience, and so yield a passive, where he cannot yield an active, obedience ;' and that the 'king's command, in imposing loans and taxes, without consent of Parliament, did oblige the subjects' conscience, upon pain of eternal damnation.'—It startled many a modest and pains-taking divine of that day, to observe how quickly church preferment followed the promulgation of the Doctor's political sentiments.

by their progenitors the people had become cordially attached, occasioned almost universal disgust and disaffection. Charles, though a sincere protestant himself, was inclined by his high notions of prerogative, as already noticed, as well as by the influence of his queen, who professed the Romish religion, to somewhat more than a simple, rational toleration of the Papists; and the like high monarchical prepossessions in James, and their consonance with the Popish tenets of *that* period, operated to confound the religion with the policy of these princes in the views of the nation. And thus, may it be observed by the way, did a supposed predilection for Catholicism, uniting with an avowed assumption of arbitrary authority, in James and Charles—' of whom the former wrote more learnedly in the defence, and the latter lived more conformably to the rules, of the protestant religion, than any of their contemporary princes in Europe*'—working in conjunction with recollections of the reign of 'bloody Mary'—engender so unconquerable a dislike to the association of Popery with power, in the breasts of the majority of Englishmen, as has even yet far from altogether lost its pungency. And it must be allowed that this feeling, so long as the profession of Catholicism appeared indis-

* May. Hist. Long Parliament.

solubly connected with the abuse of authority, was not merely politic, but necessary upon the principle of self-preservation; but *now*, since all Europe has been witness of events, proving that limited governments may securely shelter beneath the wing of Catholic ascendancy, it has degenerated into little better than a species of Protestant bigotry, and, like every other species of bigotry, it should be exploded.

To return to the third Parliament of the ill-fated Charles. The Commons of this assembly presented to Cromwell a field for observation, rather than for action. He studied therein the tempers and characters of many of those, with whom he was afterward to effect such surprising changes in all things as yet apparently standing on solid bases around him. This Parliament was his school of politics, (for hitherto he would seem to have been but little accustomed to discuss the national affairs;) and, possibly, this Parliament was also the hot-bed of his intellect; from whence his appropriation of all that was worth appropriating, in the ideas struck out by collisions between the thinking powers of others, implanted all in the vigorous soil of his own mind, and, by after meditation, engrafted on them his political, and matured by them his religious ardours. He did not, however, altogether avoid speaking, and that with strong sense and manliness, if with but little of elegance, upon

the various topics that came before the House; and, in 1628, we find him in a "committee concerning the pardons granted by the King since the last session, to certain persons questioned in parliament. And we are told, that he informed the house what countenance the bishop of Winchester did give to some persons that preached *flat popery*; and mentioned the persons by name; and how, by this bishop's means, *Manwaring*, (who by censure of the last parliament was disabled from ever holding any ecclesiastical dignity in the church, and confessed the justice of that censure,) is nevertheless preferred to a rich living. If these be the steps to church-preferment, said he, what may we expect?"*

Upon the first meeting of this parliament, the Commons had entered into the discussion of grievances; instituted committees for their consideration; and pretty plainly evinced a disposition to refuse subsidies until they were redressed. Subsidies being demanded, upon the assumed necessity, amongst others, of protecting the country from foreign enemies, a member prophetically remarked: "I fear not foreign enemies; God send us peace *at home*." The famed *Petition of Right* was next contemplated, and

* Rushworth. Hist. Collect.

Charles's assent to it hardly wrung from his pecuniary wants. However, this triumph obtained, the House joyfully dissolved their committees of religion, trade, grievances, and courts of justice: but continuing, upon good grounds, to censure the conduct of the Duke of Buckingham, who was the right hand of the King's arbitrary sway, his Majesty, again greatly displeased, successively prorogued the Parliament to the 20th of October, and the 20th of January, next ensuing; and finally dissolved it on the 10th of March, the Houses having been permitted to sit not quite twelve months. On this occasion, as a purposed slight to the Lower House, the King addressed his speech to the Lords alone; informing them, that the 'unduti-ful and seditious carriage' of the Commons had compelled him to the measure; and proceeded to imprison in the Tower several of the members, who had been most prominent in the debates of the latter. But, could Charles have looked into the hearts of the popular representatives he so rashly dismissed, perhaps the very last measure to which he would have addressed himself, would have been the sending such a man as Cromwell, to muse on a despotism, of which he was himself an example, in the bosom of his family, instead of allowing harmless play to his elevated and daring energies in the midst of that constitutional assembly, from which—

so long as it remained constitutional, and the monarch's power was preserved equally so—the splendour of no possible human faculties would have sufficed to raise their possessor to a level with, much less to enable him to overturn, the sacred sovereignty of England.

From this time, according to the historian of the Long Parliament, were 'the people deprived of the hope of Parliament;' and all things now 'so managed by public officers, as if never were such a day of account to come.' The King 'acted over again the same things which formerly he had done;' and the Petition of Right, 'instead of fortifying the kingdom's liberty, made it appear to be more defenceless than before, seeing that laws themselves were no bar against the King's will.' Lord Clarendon himself, who writes with so evident a leaning toward the side of royalty, cannot refrain from several remarks, which sufficiently evince his approbation of the line of conduct pursued by each of Charles's three first Parliaments. He admits, that 'he was not aware of any formed act of either House, that was not agreeable to the wisdom and justice of great courts upon those extraordinary occasions.' And 'divers gentlemen of prime quality' having been before imprisoned by the King, upon the *second* dissolution, 'could it be imagined,' he asks, 'that those men would meet

again in a free convention of Parliament, without a sharp expostulation and inquisition into their own right, and the power that had imposed thereon?' And yet, he adds, 'all those provocations, and many others, almost of as large an extent, produced no other resentment than the Petition of Right, (of no prejudice to the Crown) and which was moreover purchased at the price of five subsidies;' though, 'in a very short time after the supply granted, that Parliament was likewise, with strange circumstances of passion, dissolved.' His Lordship himself recounts many of the grievances of the subject, in the intervals between the sittings of these Parliaments; telling us, among other things, that '*supplemental acts of state* were, in the absence of Parliament, made to supply defects of law;' and that '*obsolete laws* were revived, and rigorously executed;' while that 'unjust projects of all kinds, (to obtain money) many ridiculous, many scandalous, all very grievous, were set on foot; and finally, for a spring and mine that should have no bottom, *ship-money*.' The *Council-table*, and *Star-chamber*, he goes on to observe, 'enlarged their jurisdictions to a vast extent; holding for honourable that which pleased, and for just that which profited: the Council-table, by proclamation, enjoining to the people what was not enjoined by the law, and prohibiting that which was not prohibited; and the Star-

chamber censuring the breach and disobedience to those proclamations by very great fines and imprisonments; so that any disrespect to any acts of state, or to the persons of statesmen, was in no time more penal, and those foundations of right by which men valued their security, to the apprehension and understanding of wise men, never more in danger to be destroyed.' Lastly, and to crown all, he states his belief, that 'the damage and mischief to the crown and state were inexpressible, from the deserved reproach and infamy that attended *the judges*, by the use made of them in this (the raising ship-money) and like acts of power; there being no possibility to preserve the dignity, reverence, and estimation of the laws themselves, but by the integrity and innocence of the judges.'—In the midst of such violences on the part of his advisers, such criminal visitations upon the well-timed integrity of the representatives of the people, and feelings of mingled indignation and dismay in the bosoms of the people themselves, did Charles now formally prohibit his subjects to prescribe to him any time for future parliaments, or even so much as to make any future mention of them!

But did Cromwell, now that, as the gloomy spectres of the times, began to be shadowed forth but two leading political objects—the monarch of England become its tyrant, and the

nation (and such a nation!) prostrate at the footstool of his illegal, and yet miscalled *divine* sovereignty—did the incipient Protector retire to the privacy of his family and native town, with a mind as deeply conscious of its powers, as his spirit, constitutionally irritable, was imbued with a sort of instinctive aversion to every act of authority, the product of its own misguided heat, or self-sufficient wantonness? Probably not: yet he could not but have perceived, in a degree, the mental fire yet smothering within him. Certainly, however, the most exuberant imagination, though by possibility it might have pictured to itself the impending fall of a monarchy, at once so arbitrarily and ill-advisedly supported by the sovereign head, could never have pourtrayed its owner, moving in such a sphere as Cromwell then did, as one day occupying the seat, from which the erratic, misled monarch was to be precipitated. It is more consistent with probability to suppose, that he partook, in a measure, of that dejected hopelessness of witnessing any future parliament, which now began to pervade the entire kingdom; as well as in the sad conviction, that no very apparent line of conduct had been provided for the wisest representative assembly by the constitution, as it then stood, by which to bar the subject from the tyranny of a king, who had evinced that he would acknowledge

the rightful liberties of the people only to obtain relief from his immediate necessities, and would afterward most unfeignedly, as it seemed, believe, that his kingly office itself placed him above every obligation to fulfil the engagements by circumstances extorted from him. His aspirations after freedom thus pent within him, it may be thought too much to infer with Milton, in a passage already quoted, that he 'had enlarged his hopes (relying upon God and a great soul) *in a quiet bosom*, for any the most exalted times:' it is perhaps rather likely, that his fervors, restrained from flowing in their newly-opened political channel, recurred with increased violence to that of enthusiastic piety; and there exists not the slightest evidence to prove, that this piety was as yet otherwise than unaffectedly sincere.

It appears possible too, from the causes just mentioned, though the facts themselves may have been greatly exaggerated, that he now became, as Dr. Simcott, his physician, assured Sir Philip Warwick, 'a splenetic,' having 'fancies about the cross in the town;' and, the Doctor adds, 'he had been called up to him at midnight, and at such unseasonable hours, many times, upon a strange phantasy, which made him believe he was dying.' Such stories, particularly when they relate to remarkable personages, seldom lose by their repetition; and

both the worthy Doctor might enlarge a little, in pouring them into the ears of so staunch a loyalist, and Sir Philip increase the sum of the marvellous, in retailing them for the Cromwell-hating times of Charles II. Relative to this period also, if it be founded in truth, must be the assertion, that his house at Huntingdon 'became the retreat of the persecuted non-conformist teachers:' the inhabitants, as Noble affirms, shewing 'a building behind it, which, they say, he erected for a chapel, where many of the disaffected had their religious rites performed, and in which he himself sometimes gave them edifying sermons.' Nothing can be more likely, than that his sensitive spirit, equally affected by tyranny in every form, should tempt him to afford all the protection within the scope of his ability to a religious sect, then dreadfully abused and persecuted by the higher powers; and his doing so must be allowed to possess the greater merit, inasmuch as it is made clear by subsequent occurrences, that he had not as yet become a partaker of their communion. For the reason last-mentioned, however, it becomes improbable that he should allow himself to lead their pious exercises; and his 'edifying sermons' at Huntingdon, there can be little doubt, had no existence but in the inventions of a period posterior to the date of his own.

From a letter of Cromwell's, dated St. Ives,

Jan. 11, 1635, *(g)* he appears to have been resident there in that year, and that in the capacity of a Farmer; having, with consent of his mother, and his uncle, Sir Oliver, sold his paternal estates at Huntingdon for £1800, and stocked his farm with the produce.* In his asserted activity in the *parochial* affairs of this place may, perhaps, be traced the germ of that talent for public business he afterward so eminently displayed. But, clearly, the accounts given by some writers, of his turning his new vocation to loss rather than profit, owing to an over mixture of religious with his secular affairs, are in themselves ridiculous and inconsistent.† Cromwell ever appeared too sensible of the value of that precept, 'whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might,' to give to such tales the slightest semblance to

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* When the author of the "Memoirs of the Protectorate House" wrote, a barn which Cromwell built at St. Ives was still standing; and the farmer then in possession also used his identical marking-irons, inscribed "O. C.", for marking his own sheep.

† Heath, the before-mentioned author of the 'Flagellum,' "pretends that the servants were not sent into the field till nine o'clock in the morning, and detained after dinner very late to hear a market lecture retailed; and that these *religious* servants, to make up for the lost time, *played at cards* instead of ploughing, and other businesses they were to have been employed in: —card-playing and praying do not seem to accord."—NOBLE.

probability. Yet the letter just alluded to sufficiently evidences the fact, that his religious feelings at this time were as real as they were outwardly fervent; since they are found to have rendered him most earnest in a matter connected with them, but in which he could have no personal nor interested concern. The object of his desires in this epistle, was the continuance of a Dr. Welles, 'a man of goodnesse, and industrie, and abilitie every way,' in a lectureship which the person to whom it was addressed had instituted; and all the circumstances point to the conclusion, that this lectureship was within the pale of the establishment; for at St. Ives, he is known to have regularly attended the public worship of the *church;* and, indeed, such was the intolerant bigotry of prelacy at that era, he might have vainly sought the land, had he been so disposed, for a *public conventicle.* But, there is good reason to believe, he had long conceived a very natural disgust at the almost exclusive regard to temporalities, but too generally manifested by the clergy. His religious scruples, at the same period, were carried to such a height, that he returned several sums of money, (in one instance £30, in another so much as £120,) which he had formerly won by gambling, to the losers. Of the truth of this account, since his enemies join in its relation, there cannot be

a doubt: and who will contend, that to restore money, which the possessor conscientiously believes he ought not to retain, is discommendable? *Hypocrisy*, at least, the alpha and omega of Cromwell with most persons, from the Restoration to the present day, could not be the source of a conduct in itself necessarily self-denying.

Having spent about five years at St. Ives, he appears to have been temporarily at Huntingdon again in 1636; for his daughter Mary was in that year baptized there. Soon after, upon the death of his maternal uncle, Sir Thomas Steward, who, as before noticed, bequeathed him his estates, situate in Ely and its neighbourhood, he went to reside at the Glebe-house in that city; and, while there, it is asserted, 'he was at the highest pitch of enthusiasm; his mind disengaged from every thing but religious melancholy.' That the piety of Cromwell was in a high degree enthusiastic, may be readily acquiesced in; but that his enthusiasm, up to this period, was farther removed from rationality, than what must, from the weakness of our nature, have almost infallibly been observed in a man of his temperament, sincere, and living at a time when enthusiasm was nearly universal around him, is, to the writer at least, equally apparent. But his late lineal descendant discredits this supposed excess of religious

feeling in his great ancestor, equally with those 'foibles of his youth,' from his too reproachful recollection of which most other authors have been content to deduce it. On this subject, Mr. O. C., with the generality of those who preceded him, refers to a letter written from Ely to his cousin Mrs. St. John; a passage in which, chiefly alluded to, is as follows:

"You know what my manner of life hath bine. O, I lived in and loved darkness, and hated the light: I was a chief, the chief, of sinners. This is true: I hated godliness, yet God had mercy on me."

'Allowing,' with family partiality, 'for the accustomed use in those times of scripture language upon all occasions,' there are few, perhaps, who will become converts to the opinion, that the above-cited passage should be interpreted as merely conveying such a deep internal sense of past unworthiness, as the most consistently moral character may be supposed to feel, and express in epistolary confidence to a friend. Cromwell here does more than convey such a conviction in himself to his cousin: for the passage is not so much a relation of his own feelings—not so much an exposition of inwardly experienced sinfulness, apparent to a man's own heart, though hidden from the world —as an appeal to Mrs. St. John's *knowledge* of what his manner of life had been; and,

therefore, an allusion to offences, which, as they were *known* to this lady, must have been of a nature overt and bare to his relations and acquaintances. And when this admission of his former ill courses—as, so considered, it will appear to be—is coupled with the general fact, that a maturity of religion so strongly felt and evidenced as was Cromwell's, is, more frequently than otherwise perhaps, the sequel to a youth of total irreligion or open profligacy, the concurrent testimony borne by all writers near his own times to his early vices, must be received as far from utterly destitute of foundation.

It probably was something prior to the date of this letter, that Cromwell, brooding over the slavery of his country by the King, and the ecclesiastical tyranny exercised by the prelates in general, but especially by the haughty and imperious Archbishop Laud, began to entertain a serious design of disposing of his property in England, and exchanging his native soil for that of North America. The publication of the noted *Book of Sports* (in 1633), accompanied by the royal injunction for its being read by the ministers in all churches, and followed, as it was, by the harshest punishment of all those who refused compliance with the king's commands, might have been influential, along with other examples of absurd intolerance,

then so frequent, in gradually bringing him, though himself hitherto no nonconformist, to this resolve. A decided enemy, throughout his life, to religious bigotry—and in times when bigotry was next only to universal, this, in itself, is no light praise—these, and all other such coercive measures, were alone calculated to alienate his affections from a country, in which liberty of conscience, even in matters of the slightest importance, was disallowed. For, unimportant as were the general objects of the current ecclesiastical decrees; relating, as they commonly did, to the most apparent non-essentials; such as, the *position* of the communion-table; the calling it '*the altar*;' or the allowance of the specified 'sports' on Sunday evenings; Laud is well known to have been as vehement in their enforcement, as though salvation itself had hinged upon them. Besides, the royal sanction, and indirect command, for the exercise of *sports* of any kind upon the Sabbath, was, to Cromwell's conceptions, no doubt, so fearful an approach to 'flat popery, that no wonder if his and the national apprehensions were alive to its impending revival, and to the immutable establishment of even more than the existing religious and political grievances, as a consequence of its once more becoming the religion of the throne. Nor could Charles's somewhat artful injunction to

the bishops, to compel the *Papists*, as well as the *Puritans*, to conform to the Book of Sports, disguise the rapid approaches to sisterhood, making by popery and the English monarchy.*

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* Charles assuredly ought not to be considered *an enemy* to Protestantism; but his political principles induced him to favour men of any faith who would become their supporters. In his reign, therefore, the term *Puritan* was applied by the *court* party, by a perversion of its first meaning, to all such as (according to Rushworth's report of a speech by Sir B. Rudyard) were "sticklers for the constitution in church and state, or would square their actions by any rule, human or divine," rather than by the arbitrary wills of "the *catholic* and *prelatical* party." It would have been inconsistent for *courtiers* now, since Charles himself (to his honor) was a Puritan in practice, if not in doctrine, to apply the epithet in its prior sense: though the word is still very frequently considered to have been all along a distinction as to points in religion, or practices in morals, merely. But Charles and his adherents strove to reconcile, not to disunite, the people, as to religious matters, (however contrary might be the effect of their measures to the end proposed); their object being, by the establishment of a religion made up of popery and protestantism, to retain all and only such doctrines and practices in the then existing constitutions of both, as were favourable to the king's sole, unquestioned, sway in all civil and ecclesiastical affairs. The followers of the older Puritans forming the chief bar to the monarch's execution of this scheme, they retained, under his sanction, but upon these grounds, rather than their peculiarities in manners or religious opinions, their epithet of scorn; and, as Mrs. Hutchinson (in her interesting Life of Col. Hut-

The plantation called New England, in North America, was held by the settlers there by patent from the King. Numbers of the people, consequently, both ministers and others, who now sold their estates and set sail for this distant province, naturally hoped, by such an expedient, not to be thought wanting in loyal affection to their prince and country, while they preserved unimpaired their religious liberty. But the court, becoming jealous of the departure of so many subjects, at length issued a proclamation, forbidding any more to leave the island without a royal licence. This proclamation being evaded, the next step taken was by an order in council, authorising 'the lord-treasurer to take speedy and effectual course for the stay of eight ships, now in the river of Thames, prepared to go to New England,' and for 'putting on land all the passengers and provisions therein intended for the voyage.'—In one of these vessels were Cromwell, and his compatriot Hampden! How short-sighted thus appear the precautions of tyranny! Cromwell, or Hampden, it has been justly observed, could have given little opposition to Charles's government

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chinson) remarks, were 'more than ever discountenanced and persecuted;' while the Papists, by the growing favour of the Queen, were daily increasing both in numbers and consideration.

in the wilds of North America; while, 'to impose laws on men, which in conscience they could not comply with—to punish them for their non-compliance, and continually revile them as undutiful subjects by reason thereof—and yet not permit them peaceably to depart, and enjoy their own opinions in a distant part of the world, yet dependent on the sovereign'—truly it were no matter of surprise, if many should stigmatize such conduct as 'base, barbarous, and inhuman.'* But, in truth also, 'persecutors, of all ages and nations, are nearly the same: they are without the feelings, and without the understandings, of men.'†

In 1639, in consequence of a most arbitrary and ill-judged attack upon the popular Earl of Bedford‡ by the sovereign, Cromwell's indignation was so much roused, and he both spoke and acted with such eminent ability and effect, in favour of that nobleman, that from this era we may date the actual rise of his political consequence. In the sixth year of Charles's reign, it appears, 'the Earl of Bedford, and divers of the principal gentlemen whose habitations confined upon *the fens*, and who, in the heat of summer, saw vast quantities

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* Dr. Harris. † Ibid.

‡ Ancestor of the present noble Russell family.

of lands, which the fresh waters overflowed in the winter, lie dry and green, or drainable,'* had, in pursuance of a charter from the King, commenced, and industriously prosecuted their drainage. But his Majesty, though he at first seemed so properly sensible of the great national utility of the work, was by some means induced, upon its completion, or rather the eve of it, instead of setting out the 95,000 acres promised to the Earl and the other adventurers as their recompence, to lay hold upon some discontents, excited through the impossibility of satisfying all whose property or privileges had been affected by the undertaking, as a pretext for sending down court-commissioners to examine into their proceedings. The commissioners met at Huntingdon, in April of this year; and, being well aware of the part they were expected to perform, declared the drainage defective, and that therefore the Earl and the other adventurers were not entitled to their stipulated recompence: a declaration, through which a great proportion of those adventurers, having embarked their whole fortunes in the project, were ruined. The King himself had been so ill-advised in the business, that, whether in consequence of direct false-

* Sir Phil. Warwick. Memoirs.

hoods insinuated in the royal ear, or that the Earl's assertion of the popular liberties had drawn upon him his Majesty's displeasure, or that his Majesty was pleased to consider the advantage that would accrue to the royal treasury from his acceptance of a free-will offering of 57,000 acres, to be presented to him as *principal undertaker* of a work already *all but completed*,—whatever were the grounds of his Majesty's conduct,—certain it is, that he himself had condescended to write to the commissioners, to inform them, *previously to their examination into the affair*, of his perfect satisfaction that the Earl had not drained the country; a pre-judgment, which the commissioners, by their declaration, evinced that they duly appreciated. This conduct, really so nefarious on the part of Charles, (however he might, and probably did, justify it to his own mind, as he was well able to justify any thing, upon his principles of sovereignty), drew down on him the whole wrath of his hitherto scarcely awakened future rival. For, denied even the poor alternative of clearing a patch of tangled wood-land in a remote continent, in preference to residing on his competent estate in a country rendered intolerable by despotism, Cromwell now grappled, in the full exertion of his strength, with the general oppressor; met, argued with, and triumphantly confuted

his commissioners at Huntingdon; aroused the universal spirit of the country in behalf of the original undertakers; and, though he had not until years afterward, the satisfaction of procuring the Earl and his associates peaceable possession of their property in the drained lands, he at least deprived the King of the eclat and advantage that had been expected to result from his so condescending undertakership, and became an object of admiration, for his spirited resistance to prerogatived tyranny, to his own and all the neighbouring counties. Long after, the recollection of his conduct in this affair procured for him the appellation of 'Lord of the Fens.' Hampden, who was his kinsman, from that day pronounced him one that would 'sit well at the mark;' and his popularity naturally increased with the commendations of a well-known leader, and his already powerful party.*

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* The part taken by Cromwell, relative to the drainage of the fens, and the progress at that time made toward its accomplishment, have been so variously represented, that it is rather difficult, at this late period, to obtain a clear insight into the matter. Appearing to conceive of the Earl of Bedford's project to drain the part properly called the *Bedford Level*, containing nearly 400,000 acres, as a general attempt to drain the united fens of Cambridgeshire, Hants, Northants, and Lincolnshire, comprehending some millions; and, observing that the work was carried no farther than nearly to

The noble stand made by Hampden, relative to ship-money, had occurred two years pre-

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the completion of these 400,000 acres, when Cromwell interested himself in the business, and that it there stopped; the Protector's enemies would persuade us, that his opposition to Charles's interference arose out of the popular objection, supported by him, to the project itself; and that the end he proposed to himself, and obtained, was its hindrance; forgetting, that if his, or the general wish, had been to impede the work, the time that would have been chosen for the attempt would have been at the revival of the idea some seven or eight years previously, and not, that when so large a portion of it was accomplished in the completion (nearly) of the real Bedford Level. But the obvious utility of the undertaking would alone render the idea of extended opposition to it, grounded on its own merits, unlikely; and particularly as to Cromwell, from his known approbation and encouragement afterward afforded to all such public-spirited schemes, and the thanks he actually received from William, the next Earl of Bedford, for his promotion of this identical one. It is proper to observe, that though the above given account of this whole transaction is from Nalson Cole, who, as 'Register to the Corporation of the Bedford Level,' was, doubtless, generally well informed, yet that it differs from that writer, in stating the drainage of the Level to have been *nearly*, and not fully, completed at the time of the King's interposition. That it was not then fully completed, appears from an act, *much forwarded by Cromwell*, in 1649, which runs: "And whereas Francis, late Earl of Bedford, did undertake the said work, and had ninety-five thousand acres, parcel of the said great level, decreed and set forth, in the thirteenth

vious. A majority of the judges, it is true, declared against that renowned oppositionist, and sentenced him to pay his assessment: but his undaunted conduct on the occasion induced all, who befriended the popular rights, to rally round him; and among the foremost of these, since his boldness and ability had appeared to such advantage in the matter of the fens, was now reckoned Cromwell. Happy, perhaps, had it been for our future statesman and hero, if the applauses that thus raised him a step on the unstable ladder of popular esteem, had not also sown in his breast the seeds of that fatal ambition, through the growth of which, his ef-

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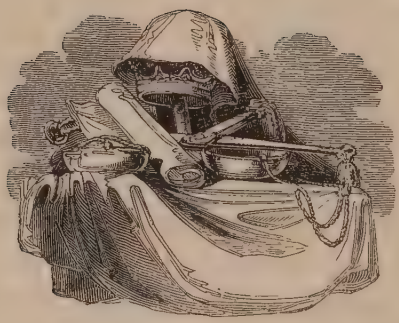
year of the late King Charles, in recompense thereof; and he and his participants, and their heirs and assigns, had *made a good progress therein*," &c. Probably, as before stated, the Earl of Bedford had advanced to the very eve of accomplishing the original project, when the King stept in, and would have procured for himself all the honour and advantages to be derived from it. And, probably, as observed, it was from seeing that the *effect* of his majesty's interference, and of Cromwell's opposition, was to delay, for a time, the full completion of the enterprize, that so many writers have assigned to the latter the obloquy of throwing impediments in the way of an undertaking every way so advantageous to the country; when he really set himself to oppose, not the drainage, but Charles's unjustifiable attempt to profit by the unrewarded industry of his subjects in carrying it on.

forts, hitherto in humble and undazzling earnestness directed to the service of his country, continued indeed to be so directed, but always in connection with views toward the elevation of himself. The calm of privacy had now for ever passed. Those peaceful years, devoted to the improvement of his property by honourable occupations, and to the superintendance of his amiable family, and which, even beneath the purple of the protectorate, it is probable, he often sighed over as the happiest of his existence, were to be succeeded by others, incessantly occupied by the turmoil of political intrigue, or the bustle of military adventure. And, once fairly embarked on the ocean of national conflict, his character, almost of necessity, such is human weakness, became of a more *mixed* complexion than formerly. The intervals, unmarked by religious predominancy, might not be more frequent; but they began to be more strongly distinguished, either by the re-appearance of some one of his earlier characteristics, or by the birth of some politic quality to meet some special occasion: and, while the number and versatility of these aberrations from his latter sanctity, were in the ratio of his unsubdued infirmities, and, we may even add, of his genius and general powers, his piety yet existed only in that of his remaining sincerity of heart.

Henceforth, was he a compound of such virtues and vices, of qualities so various and so opposed, that a mind and powers exactly similar to his own, were alone perhaps capable of literally developing his career. Religious, to the last, in his private and domestic conduct, he accustomed himself to the practice of a greater or less degree of dissimulation throughout his public life. Enthusiastic to a high degree in the cause he had espoused, he yet calculated consequences one by one as they occurred, with almost unfailing exactness. So simple were his language and manners, that he appeared incapable of disguising a purpose that had arisen in his mind; yet, by penetration and address the most exquisite, did he at the same time so read the hearts, and so accommodate himself to the humours, of all with whom he associated, as at once to make them his firm friends, and footstools to his future elevation over them. His existence became a perpetual harlequinade: his expressions shifting from the spiritual to the coarsely jocular; his conduct, from the pliant to the overbearing, from the submissive, to the most vehement contradictions and the boldest opposition. He could be gentle, almost to effeminacy; or rude, almost to brutality: the *protector* of an insect, or a savage

presiding at a human massacre ! He was found to have faculties, tempers, tastes, nay, even apparent habits, adapted to all seasons and occasions. Hence, he could pursue an object by the most concealed and devious tracks, or pounce upon it, like the eagle, by a single flight and stoop : he could charm and wile impediments from his path, or shiver them to fragments at a blow : he could enter with an equal zest into the occupations of preaching, fighting, and reigning ; was equally at home in the prayer-meeting, the camp, and the palace : and, as hitherto he had *brewed*, and *farmed*, with all a tradesman's tact for the arts of business and acquiring wealth, he now bestrode his war-horse with a grace entirely chivalric, and vaulted from the saddle but to sit the throne with an ease, that made royalty seem a portion of his nature. Meanwhile, in every change of time and circumstance, religion, be it once again peculiarly observed, far from contracting, enlarged her hold upon his *feelings ;* but, gradually deserting his *judgment*, while her sphere of influence was lamentably abridged in fact, the success that attended all his undertakings taught his enthusiasm so greatly to extend it in idea, that, finally, his every action appeared to him directed by a heavenly guidance, and his very crimes the offspring of

a decreed necessity, or instruments to execute upon earth God's righteous vengeance!—By considerations similar to these only, it is presumed, shall we be able to pursue and to appreciate the future life of Cromwell.



CHAPTER. III.

FROM THE FIRST HOSTILITIES WITH SCOTLAND, TO THE BREAKING OUT OF THE CIVIL WAR.

Hostilities with Scotland—Fourth Parliament—Cromwell returned for Cambridge—Speedy Dissolution—LONG PARLIAMENT—Milton's description of its Members—Lord Clarendon's ditto—Cromwell upon numerous Committees—His Portraiture by Sir Philip Warwick—His Parliamentary Eloquence—Hume refuted—Sketch of the Proceedings following, of the King and Parliament—Charles erects his Standard at Nottingham.

ELEVEN years had now elapsed, since Englishmen had witnessed the assembly of their representatives, to form, with the king and peers, a constitutional parliament. During that long period, the possession of the throne by individual self-will, voluntarily isolated from the national councils and co-operation, had been complete. The monarchy, notwithstanding, is easily perceived to have been long poising on a point—OPINION;—while, that the awe of simply sceptred majesty had been so long ca-

pable of producing obedience, (next only to unlimited) to its commands, is indeed a proof that loyalty—' that noble and generous principle, *inferior only in excellence* to the more enlarged and more enlightened affection, towards a legal constitution,'*—is inherent in the hearts of our countrymen. But Charles had ere this, committed himself by a proceeding, which eventually led to the decision of the great question, whether Britain should indeed be subsequently ruled by a King alone, or by a King, in whom the passions naturally arising out of the exercise of power should be constitutionally moderated, and the deficiencies common to all men, in whatever station, constitutionally supplied, by the assistance of a Parliament. Instigated by the frantic zeal of his ecclesiastical chief counsellor, Laud, Charles had excited the inhabitants of Scotland, the country of his own immediate descent, to rise in open enmity against him, through endeavouring—in furtherance of an eager, but senseless desire, common with tyrants—to establish uniformity in the mode of worshipping God throughout his dominions. The 'service-book' he took the pains to transmit for the benefit of his Scottish subjects, was received by them with horror and indignation: they took

* Hume.

a national 'covenant' against its adoption; and eventually proceeded to march a large army across the Tweed, in support of the freedom of their consciences.—One of the good qualities personal to Charles, was *economy;* by its exercise, he had contrived, during the past years of his illegal sway, to accumulate a sum, considerable in those days, over and above his wants for the ordinary expences of his government. With this money, and assisted by the nobility and gentry, and, above all, by the prelates, (the latter of whom were so forward in their aids, that the uncommenced war obtained the name of *bellum episcopale)* he, in this emergency, levied and equipped a formidable body of troops, at whose head he met the 'covenanters' at York. Here he judged it most prudent to enter into terms: but their performance on his part was so unsatisfactory, that the Scotch shortly afterward prepared to renew their visit. But now was Charles utterly without resources: his own pecuniary means exhausted, his adherents unprepared for a second supply: so that necessity at length compelled him, most unwillingly, to have recourse to the long neglected, but only legitimate mode of procuring his warlike requisites —a parliament. Writs were accordingly issued: and an assembly, of so novel a kind as this was become, at length once more met; viz. on the 13th of April, 1640.

In this parliament, Cromwell was returned one of the members for the town of Cambridge: a consequence, no doubt, of the well-deserved popularity he had acquired by his conduct as to the drainage of the fens: though several writers, following the 'Biographia Britannica,' (which derives its information from the shameless author of the 'Flagellum') repeat a ridiculous tale of his obtaining this honour by mean and improbable arts, unworthy of the high character in the county he, it is clear, already possessed. The period for deliberation at Westminster, allowed this parliament, was too short to afford him any new opportunity of exhibiting his zeal and talents to advantage. Yet the assembly exhibited some features, worthy a transitory notice. After a short opening speech from the King, the lord-keeper of the seal, Lord Finch, in his following oration, condescended to flatter his royal master, and dared to humiliate the Houses, by these among many similar expressions. 'His Majesty's kingly resolutions,' said he, 'are seated in the ark of his sacred breast; and it were a presumption of too high a nature for any *Uzzah*, uncalled, to touch it: yet his Majesty is now pleased to lay by the shining beams of majesty, as Phœbus did to Phæton, that the difference between sovereignty and subjection, should not bar you of that filial freedom of access to his

person and counsels. Only let us beware how, with the son of Clymene, we aim at the guiding of the chariot, as if that were the only testimony of fatherly affection; and let us ever remember, that though the King sometimes lays by the beams and rays of majesty, he never lays by majesty itself.' But, notwithstanding these lofty pretensions, the English of which was, that Charles required his parliament to supply him with money, without troubling themselves to interfere with his conduct of the government—as if his wisdom were competent, not alone to execute, but, upon all his own self-judged occasions, to overtop the law—so greatly had eleven years of despotism altered his peculiarly sovereign native bearing, that his behaviour was now marked with the petulancy of a child, rather than the dignified reserve of authority conscious of its strength. The parliament had sat but twenty-three days, when, (impatient of the really somewhat tantalising debates of the Commons, as to whether the question of supplies or grievances should obtain the precedency,) he angrily dissolved it. Afterward, says Lord Clarendon, he was 'sorry for what he had done; but, finding he could not recall it, he fell roundly to find out all expedients for the raising of money:'—one of which expedients was, the seizure of the bullion belonging to the Spanish Merchants in the Mint, which he kept

in his own hands until, by the forced loan of £40,000, its restoration was compounded for. In other *voluntary* loans, according to his lordship, he had as 'wonderful success; so that, in less than three weeks, £300,000 were paid into the Exchequer, at his Majesty's disposal.' The noble historian has previously observed, that 'there could not a greater damp have seized upon the spirits of the whole nation, than this dissolution caused;' that 'men had much of the misery in view which shortly after fell out;' and that 'it could never be hoped, that more sober and dispassionate men would ever meet together in that place, or fewer who brought ill purposes with them:' neither 'could any man imagine what offence they had given, which put the king upon that resolution.'

But money, it has been seen, even without the aids of parliament, was obtained, to meet Charles's necessities: and, thus beyond his hopes befriended, he again equipped an army, and proceeded in haste toward the north. The first operations against the Scots proving unsuccessful, the troops earliest opposed to them had retreated into Yorkshire: where, when the King came up, commissioners from the enemy met him with a petition for the redress of grievances, concluding with a prayer to his Majesty, that, through a parliament, he would seek the means of a lasting peace. Ill success,

and some evidences of a disposition in his army more favourable to their Scottish brethren than could be pleasing to Charles, combined to render his answer gracious in a degree that could not otherwise have been expected: he replied, that he had summoned his *great council of peers* to meet him at York; and that, when he should have conferred with that assembly, he would give an answer to their petition. The council of peers met; forming a body essentially *feudal*, and such an one as had not been called together by kingly summons, and for a deliberative purpose, since the early Norman times. In the course of his consultations with this assembly, Charles became so sensible of the dangers of his situation—hemmed in, as it were, in a little royal circle, bounded by his hostile kingdoms—that he once more sacrificed his inclinations to necessity, and gave assurances to the Scotch, that he would call *another parliament* on the 3d of November (1640) ensuing. Hostilities were thereupon suspended: but the Scots had secured too good a footing, to be induced to retreat into their own country; and both armies continued to occupy their respective positions.

In this posture of affairs, the ever celebrated Long Parliament met on the day appointed; as one of whom, Cromwell was again returned for Cambridge. These were the men, who,

not content with restraining the authority of their lawfully instituted, though self-deluded sovereign, pursued him implacably to an ignominious death. But, could this act of barbarous violence, and their subsequent tame submission to a military usurper—however that usurper were more highly gifted and qualified, in such times especially, for their king—be expunged from their annals, they would be found to have been exceeded, neither in wisdom nor governing capacity, by the most famous public assembly that ever signalized itself in any nation or time. The opinion formed of them by Milton, two years after they had met, and had evinced their talents and spirit by their conduct, deserves, since it is no mean authority, to be more generally known than to the few readers of his prose works. After noticing their high birth, and their attainments, and commending their public virtue in having, many of them, passed the ordeals both of courtly temptation and vengeance, he goes on: "Thus, in the midst of all disadvantages and disrespects, having given proof of themselves to be better made and framed by nature to the love and practice of virtue, than others, under the holiest precepts and best examples, have been headstrong and prone to vice; and having, in all the trials of a firm ingrafted honesty, not oftener buckled in the conflict than given every

opposition the foil; this, moreover, was added, by favour from heaven, as an ornament and happiness to their virtue, that it should be neither obscure in the opinion of men, nor eclipsed for want of matter equal to illustrate itself; God and man consenting, in joint approbation, to chuse them out, as worthiest above others, to be both the great reformers of the church, and the restorers of the commonwealth. Nor did they deceive that expectation, which, with the eyes and desires of their country, was fixed upon them; for no sooner did the force of so much united excellence meet in one globe of brightness and efficacy, but, encountering the dazzled resistance of tyranny, they gave not over, though their enemies were strong and subtle, till they had laid her grovelling upon the fatal block; (alluding to the execution of Lord Strafford,) with one stroke winning again our lost liberties and charters, which our forefathers, after so many battles, could scarce maintain," &c. &c. We have the testimony of Lord Clarendon himself, that, at the commencement of this parliament's sitting, there were, in the Commons, 'many persons of wisdom and gravity, who, being possessed of great and plentiful fortunes, though they were undevoted enough to the *court*, had all imaginable duty for the *King*, and affection for the government established by law or ancient cus-

toms;' and that 'without doubt, the major part of that body consisted of men, who had no mind to break the peace of the kingdom, or to make any considerable alteration in the government of church and state.' With equal truth, it would seem, however, his lordship tells us, (and he here speaks in the peculiar spirit and language of the times) "there was observed a marvellous elated countenance in many of the members of parliament, before they met together in the House. The same men, who, six months before, were observed to be of very moderate tempers, and to wish that gentle remedies might be applied, without opening the wound too wide, and exposing it to the air; and rather to cure what was amiss, than too strictly to make inquisition into the causes and original of the malady; talked now in another dialect both of things and persons, and said that they must now be of another temper than they were the last parliament; that they must not only sweep the house clean below, but must pull down all the cobwebs which hung in the tops and corners, that they might not breed dust, and so make a foul house hereafter: that they had now an opportunity to make their country happy, by removing all grievances, and pulling up the causes of them by the roots, if all men would do their duties; and used much other sharp discourse to the same purpose." The main

spring of all this elation and spirited resolve—what was it, but the consciousness, acquired through events, both of their own strength, and the present weakness of the sovereign? For had not the same lord of their very being, whose breath could create, or in a moment put a period to their political existence, in anger returned them to their constituents but six months previously, yet now felt himself necessitated to recall them? Besides, the Scots maintained their warlike aspect in the north; and the King could neither conciliate them but by the good offices of a parliament, nor hope to drive them back but by means of its supplies. No wonder, therefore, if a conviction, that the situation of affairs, (aided perhaps by the monarch's own sense of ill-advised haste in his former dissolutions,) would now perforce retain them in their seats for a comparatively long period, gave to the majority of the members—but especially to such as had suffered either in person or property for the mere performance of their duty in former parliaments—an air of just sensibility to their importance, as a vital branch of the constitutional government, and as the freely-chosen representatives of a people groaning under the oppression of an illegitimately supported sovereignty. It might be asked too—were they Englishmen, and did not feel that they had liberties to reclaim, for their fellow-countrymen

and themselves, illegally wrested by former monarchs from their ancestors; and the deprivation of which, in addition to his own inroads upon the constitution, the present King appeared resolved for ever to confirm?—or were they men, and did not remember that the reigning sovereign, instead of acting toward them with the dignified moderation and amenity proper to his high office, had imitated the capricious tyranny exercised by some pedagogues over their school-boys, by so repeatedly holding up to them, as *in terrorem*, the rod of *dissolution by prerogative?*

No sooner did the Long Parliament proceed to business, than it became evident that the King's expressed wish for the expulsion of the Scots was far from consonant with theirs. They perceived their advantage in retaining the army of their northern friends, as a check upon the monarch's conduct; and the Commons procured an invitation to the Scotch commissioners, to come and exhibit their complaints in London, and ordered the sum of £100,000 to be paid to the *two* armies. Complaints and petitions, relative to grievances, were presented on all hands; so that the House was divided and sub-divided into more than forty committees for their consideration: in as many as half of these, we find the name of Cromwell. Only six days after the opening of this parliament,

he appears to have been upon one, including also Hampden, Lord Digby, Messrs. St. John, Selden, Pym, Holles, and others: and we have a curious portraiture of his personal appearance and speaking powers, drawn as it would seem on the appointment of this identical committee, by a royalist contemporary, Sir Philip Warwick.

"The first time (writes Sir Philip) I ever took notice of him, was in the beginning of the parliament held in November, 1640, when I vainly thought myself a courtly young gentleman: (for we courtiers valued ourselves much upon our good clothes). I came into the house one morning, well clad, and perceived a gentleman speaking, whom I knew not, very ordinarily apparelled; for it was a plain cloth suit, which seemed to have been made by an ill country tailor: his linen was plain, and not very clean; and I remember a speck or two of blood upon his little band, which was not much larger than his collar: his hat was without a hatband.* His stature was of a good size; his sword stuck close to his side; his countenance swoln and reddish; his voice sharp and untuneable; and *his eloquence full of fervour*—for the subject mat-

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* This description of Cromwell's negligence in the article of dress, is corroborated by the (somewhat gossip-like) story, that Lord Digby, one day going down the stairs of the Parliament-House with Hampden, and enquiring of the latter, not knowing Oliver personally, who he was—"That *sloven*," replied Hampden, "whom you see before you, hath no ornament in his speech: that sloven, I say, if we should ever come to a breach with the King, (which God forbid!) in such a case, I say, that sloven will be the greatest man in England."

ter would not bear much of reason, it being in behalf of a servant of Mr. Prynne's, who had disperst libels against the queen for her dancing, and such like innocent and courtly sports; and he aggravated the imprisonment of this man by the council-table unto that height, that one would have believed the very government itself had been in great danger by it. I sincerely profess it lessened much my reverence unto that great council, *for he was very much hearkened unto.* And yet I lived to see this very gentleman, whom, out of no ill-will to him, I thus describe, by multiplied good successes, and by real, but usurpt power, (having had a better tailor, and more converse among good company) in my own eye, when for six weeks together I was a prisoner in his sergeant's hands, and daily waited at Whitehall, appear of a great and majestick deportment and comely presence."*

It may here, without impropriety, be observed, that the *eloquence* of Cromwell, even by these admissions of an antagonist, was capable, it is clear, of procuring the greatest attention and respect: in an assembly of nearly five hundred men, of first-rate education and talents, '*he was very much hearkened unto.*' How this agrees with Hume's assertions, that in parliament he was '*not* listened to with attention,' and that—on a much later occasion, and when he had greatly improved himself in this art—'he was *incapable* of expressing himself, but in a manner which a peasant of the most ordinary capacity would justly be ashamed of,' the reader will determine. And the historian farther ob-

* Memoirs, p. 247.

serves: "the great defect in Oliver's speeches consists not in his want of elocution, but in his want of ideas. The sagacity of his actions, and the absurdity of his discourse, form the most prodigious contrast that ever was known. The collection of all his speeches, letters, sermons, (for he also wrote sermons,) would make a great curiosity, and, with a few exceptions, might justly pass for one of the most nonsensical books in the world." Hume has here made two discoveries: that Cromwell *wrote* sermons—which nobody but himself appears ever to have known—and that he wanted ideas: the last-mentioned is infinitely the more notable of the two. For, is it consistent with reason to believe, that a man, the proofs of whose most extraordinary capacity occupy so many pages of our history, should actually *want* ideas, even supposing that his language was defective in expressing them? To what stock, what unintellectual idiot, then, did three kingdoms first, and united Europe afterward, prostrate themselves? True it is, the illumination that runs along the lines of Hume, is not observable in those which compose Cromwell's speeches and letters; nor, generally, in those even of the most distinguished writers of his age: Milton himself, *in prose*, sometimes, in the words of Dr. Harris applied to the Protector, is "long-winded, obscure, flat, and ambiguous," notwithstanding the more

frequently recurring glow, with which he animates both himself and all who in his writings follow him. Yet Milton, and most certainly Hume, *laboured* to transfuse into their compositions all the varied graces of expression: Cromwell spoke by action, and seemed to consider words of little comparative consequence. If he played the orator, it was merely to convey his meaning with force to the bosoms of his hearers, or it was (in after time, perhaps, as commonly) with a deliberate intention to disguise it; and his wished-for *effect*, in either instance, was so inevitably produced, that Hume himself might be proud to have given birth to such *ideas*, as were in their consequences so triumphant.* The fact clearly was, that, with every drawback of an as yet unformed manner, and little parliamentary experience, he was an orator suited to this parliament, and to the times; and that, as he had not yet occasion to use disguises, his elocution at Westminster, like that he had displayed before the King's commissioners at Huntingdon, was at the least nervous, impassioned, and commanding.

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* The historian subsequently contradicts himself. Having just assured us, that 'the great defect in Oliver's speeches consists *not in his want of elocution*, but in his want of ideas,' he shortly after observes, that Cromwell 'was not defective in any talent, *except that of elocution*'!

It is worthy observation in this place, that it was not an inconsiderable coterie of demagogues, by the humour of the times elevated to seats in the Commons' House, who had now raised the standard of retrospective opposition to those encroachments upon constitutional government, which the King's long solitary tyranny had but just before seemed upon the very point to perpetuate. Welwood, in his 'Memoirs,' truly said, "It was not a few of either House, but indeed *all the great Patriots*, (then including Lord Clarendon himself) that concurred at first to make enquiry into the grievances of this reign; and in general, most of those who took the King's part in the succeeding war, were the men that appeared with the greatest zeal for the redress of grievances, and made the sharpest speeches upon these subjects." But, since it is the natural tendency of extremes to produce their opposites, despotism on the one hand, led to efforts to effect what (from its too evident excesses in some things) we are more than commonly tempted to style a *radical reform*, on the other. For the Commons now achieved the committal of the King's first ministers, the Earl of Strafford and Archbishop Laud, upon charges of high treason; reversed the sentences formerly passed against Hampden and others of the popular party; obtained the King's assent to their bill for *triennial* parliaments, to the joy

of the whole kingdom; procured the abolition of monopolies, and an answer, to their own apparent contentment, from the King, relative to his late extraordinary methods of raising supplies by forced loans, tonnage and poundage, ship-money, &c.; succeeded even in placing ministers, all "very gracious to the people," in the royal counsels; and, among their earliest measures, sent commissioners into the several counties, "for the defacing, demolishing, and quite taking away all images, altars, or tables turned altarwise, crucifixes, superstitious pictures, monuments, and reliques of idolatry, out of all churches and chapels." It appears almost incredible in the present day, that religious frenzy should have so far possessed the House, and their commissioners, that the most exquisite specimens of art, in sculpture, painting, painted glass, &c., the adornments of a multitude of churches by the zealous, however mistaken piety of former times, were now sacrificed without remorse: the main reason why our sacred edifices in general are so bare of the decorations, so gorgeously displayed in those of Roman-catholic countries, and even of some others, in which *reformation* was not carried to the extent it was in ours. It is well observed in May's History, that "laws and liberties having been so much violated by the King, if the Parliament had not so far drawn *religion* also into

their cause, it might have sped better;" and he adds, that, "by doing it, they frequently weakened their reasoning, and assuredly lost a more considerable party of *gentlemen* than they gained." The truth indeed is, that men of liberal education, and accustomed to the refinements and courtesies of life, so far as they were as yet known and practised in England, were in general as much disgusted with the rude spiritual cant of the *yeomanry* and *mechanics*, who were the chief partisans of the Parliament, as their pride was hurt by the growing claims of those bodies to a degree of consideration in society, unknown to any former period of the monarchy. But, on the other hand, if the parliament erred in making religion too prominent on their side, and, by the heats among themselves thereby engendered, occasioned their own after division into two parties, the Presbyterian and Independent—a division that became fatal to the liberties for which they had so zealously contended—the polished cavaliers were guilty of an equal error, in continuing to hold the inferior classes in a species of *feudal* contempt: for the more equal diffusion of wealth, and, above all, the informing light that was daily emanating from the press, had already done much toward levelling the distinctions of mere rank; and, in the end it was seen, that the despised *yeomanry* and *mechanics* were more

than a match for the *gentlemen*. Never can that greatest of political sins, the sin against the knowledge and spirit of an age, be forgiven : in its own nature it carries with it the provocatives, that will effect its certain cure, and draw down its as certain punishment.—The speeches of members of parliament, it is deserving of particular remark, were now first published ; and the liberty of the press, without being formally decreed, for the first time fully and perfectly established.

The order of the House of Commons, on the 20th of the month in which they assembled, that no member should retain his seat after the next communion-day, who had not received the sacrament 'according to the rites of the Church of England,' may be instanced by the way, as a sufficient proof that neither Cromwell, nor any of his colleagues, even yet acted with views toward the destruction of the national church, however inflamed or erroneous might be their notions of restoring it. In a conversation on the subject between himself, Sir Philip Warwick, and Sir Thomas Chickley, Cromwell said, "I can tell you, sirs, what I would *not* have, though I cannot tell you what I *would* ;"—a complexion of mind, that probably pervaded the majority in parliament and the nation at that period. To the unsettled state of public opinion and feeling

common to revolutionary times, was added, in the case of the revolution now immediately pending, all that uncertainty as to the objects most to be desired, which takes place in such crises when they occur in the infancy or absence of sound political knowledge. This uncertainty is the fruitful mother of excesses, and proved such in the instance before us; it literally overturned both the altar and the throne: since then, in our own island, and recently in some continental countries, Liberty has become sufficiently informed to accomplish her work, the restoration of men's natural and civil rights, alike without appeals to anarchical principles, to fanaticism, or to bloodshed.

Meanwhile, the conduct of the King toward *this* Parliament, as though it had proceeded from a consciousness of the imprudence of his former hasty and violent measures, equally perhaps with the operation of a nearly irresistible state necessity, had become greatly too condescending; and, in the sequel, unhappily both for the country and himself, its alternate heats and submissions were calculated, through their inconsistency alone, to confirm opposition, and engender contempt. But, more particularly, in regard to his former minister, the Earl of Strafford, since he expressed his full conviction that the unfortunate nobleman was innocent of the chief crimes laid to his charge, he should

have sacrificed both his crown and life, rather than have signed the order for his execution. Undoubtedly, the Earl was guilty of misdemeanors against the state, that ought for ever to have excluded him from his Majesty's counsels; and Charles himself was so satisfied of this, that he openly acknowledged to the Parliament, 'he did think the Lord Strafford was not fit to serve him, or the commonwealth, in any place of trust—no, not so much as that of a constable.' But, not only because 'he could not, in his conscience, condemn him of high treason,' but because the principle on which the Parliament avowedly acted—that of their authority to declare, according to their own judgment, *new treasons*, in conformity with an asserted proviso in the statute 25 Edward III.—was in itself likely to become most dangerous to the general liberty, and had moreover the appearance of being brought forward for the purpose of reaching to the life of the fallen minister, Charles would have been justified in the most obstinate exertion of his constitutional authority, to negative the proceedings of Strafford's enemies, and, out of his own royal bosom, to be just in dispensing mercy. The effect of the little deserved *death* of this justly eminent statesman, like that of the less gifted Laud at a subsequent period, upon the generality of the people, was such as over-

strained rigour never fails to produce; their misfortunes were pitied, the errors for which they had too severely suffered considered but as venial.—Cromwell's name, be it ever remembered to his honour, does not appear in connection with the proceedings against either of these truly unfortunate, however blameworthy men.

But if Charles manifested his weakness, and his ignorance of the constitutional safeguards of his crown, in consenting to the execution of Strafford, as well as in several minor instances, he manifested them yet more clearly by passing the act, forbidding the dissolution of the existing parliament *unless with its own approbation.* From that moment, all balance in the state was destroyed; for the Parliament, by this means acquiring 'an independent, personal, premanent authority,'* became a virtual branch of the executive government; or rather a distinct executive in itself, at first indirectly, and afterward openly, conflicting with that legally vested in the throne. Archbishop Laud, speaking of these events, let fall an expression, which, incidentally perhaps, but still most singularly, wore an almost prophetic character. "At this time, the parliament tendered two, and but two, bills to the King to sign: this to cut off

* De Lolme.

Strafford's head was one: and the other was that this parliament should neither be dissolved, nor adjourned, but by the consent of both houses; *in which, what he cut off from himself, time will better shew than I can.*" Yet never, it must be allowed, could a period more pregnant with its own justification of a parliament, in proposing such an act, have occurred. For, assuredly, to have found themselves the sport of a sovereign's caprices, without any seeming bar to the wildest extravagancies to which they might extend, must appear to form a strong ground for their providing one. All such a King's concessions to parliament, since upon every dissolution he had rescinded them, must seem nugatory, unless he could be deprived of the power of dissolving parliaments at will; and as, Bishop Burnet says, he never came into those concessions 'seasonably, nor with a good grace—all appeared to be extorted from him'—the necessity would be the more apparent, to prevent those liberties from retrograding, which they had once again so hardly earned. Among those 'extorted' concessions was undoubtedly that, by which the bill became law for the abolition of the *Star-Chamber** and

* The Court of *Star-Chamber*, though it had its origin at a much earlier period of English history, could scarcely be

High Commission Courts ; the passing of which was one of the greatest blows that tyranny received in this every way extraordinary reign.

Peace being concluded with Scotland, and

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said to have more than *existed,* so confined were its operations, until a statute of Henry VII. perfected its jurisdiction to the extinction nearly of civil liberty. The Court of *High Commission* was an ecclesiastical court, originally erected in the reign of Henry VIII. and restored, with ampler authority, in the beginning of that of Elizabeth, being intended to arm that princess with the extraordinary powers that were thought necessary to the crown at an era of religious revolution. The proceedings of neither of these courts were bounded by the ordinary laws and statutes of the land, and their simple existence was a contradiction to MAGNA CHARTA. In like manner, *Tonnage and Poundage,* and *Ship-Money,* were current imposts at a period considerably prior to the reign of Charles I.; though, having been levied either with or without the consent of parliament, and, in point of fact, usually understood to emanate from the royal authority alone, they were equally opposed both to the spirit and the letter of the great charter. If Charles, therefore, had merely availed himself of these different arbitrary institutions, with others, to the extent his immediate predecessors had gone before him, such conduct must be acknowledged to have been highly imprudent, at an era distinguished for its spirit of inquiry into the fitness and legitimacy of all the royal prerogatives. But when, in the use of these instruments of tyranny, he went beyond all the monarchs who had preceded him upon the throne, his measures took the character of *innovation* even upon the poor remains of constitutional liberty ; and, in such an age, could not but create their own discomfiture, and the destruction of the institutions themselves which supported them.

the King having promised the Scots a visit, ostensibly to come to an arrangement relative to the new "Service-book," his Majesty now took a public leave of the Parliament, preparatory to his departure for that kingdom. His main object in making this journey, has been by some supposed to be that of tampering with the disbanding English and Scots armies on his way; in the hope of making a party among the soldiers, to assist him in the dissolution of the Houses by force of arms. Whether or not there were any truth in this supposition, it is certain that the Parliament rather retarded, than took any efficient step toward the dismissal of these troops, until they had notice of the King's intentions; when they adopted the measure in good earnest, while they addressed, without effect, the strongest representations to the sovereign against his northern expedition. During his absence occurred the memorable rebellion and massacre of 1641 in Ireland; an event that saddened the hearts, and embittered the political feelings, of nearly the universal English people. The assurance with which the Catholic insurgents pretended an actual commission from the King, naturally increased the ill-will of the whole body of his Protestant subjects to Catholicism, and to himself, who was before suspected of so favourable a disposition toward it. Hoping to convince the nation of

their error, Charles, some time afterward, offered to lead an army, the moment it was raised, to reduce the rebels; an offer, which the Parliament may be thought to have acted wisely in distrusting; since, if the King had not actually fomented the rebellion, he had appeared but too happy in the assistance he expected to derive from it in the furtherance of his own views. Believing, therefore, that his intention was to employ this army against themselves, the Parliament rejected the proposal; and framed an act, of their own authority, for vesting the conduct of that war in the two Houses.—It may become an abstract question of some importance, whether or not the legislative assemblies should be allowed a deliberative voice, in a matter of such consequence as the engaging in external warfare with a neighbouring nation; but, in the case before us, since the legal right to commence such hostilities existed, as it still exists, in the crown, nothing but the sanction of this act by the executive itself, could render it other than a most flagrant inroad upon the King's *constitutional* prerogative.—A farther effect of the Irish rebellion was, that it afforded the Commons a pretext for appointing a *guard* to attend the Houses; upon the ground, amongst others, that personal danger to the members was to be apprehended from the numerous 'disorderly,

suspicious, and dangerous persons, especially *Irish*,' that were said to be lurking in London.

It was also during Charles's absence in Scotland, that the Commons prepared their famous '*Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom*;' which, after a debate long and stormy beyond precedent, was carried through the House by the small and little satisfactory majority of *nine* only, and presented to the monarch on his return. In which Remonstrance, Whitelock says, the House 'mentioned all the mistakes, misfortunes, illegalities, and defaults in government, since the King's coming to the crown.' He adds, 'it was somewhat roughly penned, both for the matter and the expressions in it.' Cromwell was active in promoting its progress through the House; and Clarendon even asserts that he whispered Lord Falkland in the ear, that if it had not passed, 'he would have sold all he had the next morning, and never have seen England more:' and 'he knew,' it is said he continued, 'there were many other honest men of the same resolution.' 'So near,' adds the noble historian, 'was the poor kingdom at that time to its deliverance!' It is observable, that the Remonstrance, though it was subsequently presented to the King, was, *primâ facie*, an appeal to the people; and that, moreover, it was ordered to be printed and published, without being previously carried up to the *Lords* for

their concurrence. This was the first direct step toward the elevation of the democratical over the aristocratical, as democracy had already usurped the kingly, influence over the community at large.

Ere this time, it scarcely needs to be remarked, the Commons had themselves greatly passed the line of moderation, that should have been scrupulously observed by them in all their dealings with the crown and the other branch of the legislature. They had precipitated themselves, as they were conscious, into imprudent acts, which would justly leave the King many things to pardon or to punish, as he should think fit, in case of his ever regaining, by force or otherwise, his former power. Nay, it will not be too much to assert, that they had converted the government into little other than a pure democracy, leaving the King and the Peers scarcely more than a titular authority; a change, it is but little necessary to observe, as foreign to the real spirit of the constitution, as would have been the perfect establishment of the most open and unrestricted monarchical tyranny. Their most unwarrantable measures, it must still be admitted, were so far the effects of conceived ill-designs in Charles, that they can only be appreciated in connection with the remembrance, that such designs were by them supposed to have been

formed by him. There were indeed sufficient grounds, as Bishop Burnet observed, 'whether true or plausible, to make it to be believed that he intended not to stand by them (his concessions to parliament) any longer than he lay under that force, that visibly drew them from him contrary to his own inclinations.' And May's History asserts his intention 'to curb the power of parliament,' not merely by using the army in the north as an instrument to that end, but also 'by bringing a French and Irish army into England.'

The mind of Charles was excessively irritated by the *Remonstrance;* elated as, at the time of its presentation at Hampton Court, he is said to have been, by a splendid entertainment given him by the Corporation of London immediately upon his arrival from Scotland. Affairs now rapidly reached their crisis; and their march was accelerated by a highly intemperate '*Protestation,*' addressed by twelve of the bishops to the King and Upper House; a protestation, which the Peers themselves, in a conference they held with the Commons upon the subject, described as containing 'matters of dangerous consequence, extending to the deep intrenching upon the fundamental privileges and being of parliaments.' At this report, the Commons accused the bishops of high treason; and on

the next day, ten of them were sent to the tower: the two others, 'in regard to their great age,' were merely committed to the custody of the Black Rod. Then appeared the King's '*Declaration*,' in reply to the Remonstrance; and at length, (January 3, 1641) Sir Edward Herbert, attorney-general, presented himself, by the royal command, at the bar of the House of Lords, and impeached Lord Kimbolton, together with Hampden, Pym, and three others, members of the Lower House, and who were deemed the heads of opposition; when the sergeant-at-arms, as he had been instructed, demanded to put them under arrest. This act of the King was 'an indiscretion,' Hume admits, 'to which all the ensuing disorders and civil wars ought immediately and directly to be ascribed.' The Lords endeavoured to temporise, by sending a deputation to his Majesty, to assure him that his *message* should be taken into their most serious consideration; and that, meanwhile, the members accused should be held to answer any charge to be preferred against them.

But, ill satisfied with this, Charles the next day proceeded in person to the House of Commons, attended by his guard, and by 'desperadoes that he had for some time entertained at Whitehall, to the number of three or four hun-

dred, armed with partizans, sword, and pistol;'* having previously, it should be told—it *might* be without any view to measures of this nature —withdrawn the guard appointed by the members for their own protection, and refused them any other than one which they suspected to be exclusively devoted to the sovereign, and which they had therefore themselves dismissed.† Entering, with a severe aspect, the apartment in which the members were assembled, while his attendants waited without, the House respectfully rose, and made a lane for his passage to the Speaker's chair. He informed them, as soon as he was seated, that he was come in person to seize the five members whom his attorney-general had impeached; but the Commons, having had notice of his approach by a *female* hand,‡

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* Ludlow: who tells us that one of these *desperadoes* said, in his hearing- 'What! shall we suffer these fellows (the House of Commons) to domineer thus? Let us go into the country, and bring up our tenants to pull them out!' A specimen of the violence for which the royal partizans, at least equally with the parliamentarians, were already ripe. Whitelock calls the King's attendants on this occasion 'his pensioners, and *souldiers of fortune,* most of them armed with swords and pistols.'

† Milton: and others.

‡ Styled 'a greate lady at court,' by Mrs. Hutchinson; and, the Countess of Carlisle, sister to the Earl of Northumberland, 'a lady of spirit, wit, and intrigue,' agreeably to Hume.

had previously directed the accused persons to retire, to prevent confusion or violence. The King next proceeded to ask the Speaker, who continued standing below him, if any of the members implicated were in the House? That officer, falling on his knees, answered: "Sir, I have neither eyes to see, nor tongue to speak, but as the House is pleased to direct me, whose servant I am. And I humbly ask pardon, that I cannot give any other answer to what your Majesty is pleased to demand of me." The King replied, "I think you are in the right:" adding, somewhat too familiarly it may be thought, "Well, since I see all the birds are flown, I do expect from you, that you do send them to me as soon as they return hither." He then departed; some symptoms of disorder appearing among the members as he re-passed them, and several of them exclaiming, sufficiently loud for his observation, "*Privilege! Privilege!*"—And, indeed, both loud and deep now became that cry throughout the land; so that although, until this period, as Welwood says, 'there were not wanting endeavours on both sides, to accommodate matters by soft and healing methods, the King's coming to the House of Commons in person, to demand five of their members, did put all into a combustion, and gave occasion to the House to assert their privileges with greater warmth than ever.'

Though hitherto disappointed of his object, Charles, the next day, persevering in the part he was so condescendingly acting as his own officer both of military and police, went into the City, attended only by his ordinary guard, or band of pensioners: laid his complaints before the Common Council, who had been convened for the purpose at their Guildhall; and, assuring them he had information that the accused members were concealed within the limits of their jurisdiction, required them forthwith to be produced. He was heard in silence, not unmingled, it may be, with contempt; and the only fruits of this second piece of rashness were, that he was saluted by the populace, as he passed through the streets in his coach, with cries of "*Privileges of parliament! Privileges of parliament!*" while one of the crowd, more daring than the rest, approached close to the vehicle, with the exclamation of "*To your tents, O Israel!*" the cry of the rebellious Hebrews, when they abandoned their monarch, Rehoboam, as recorded in the sacred volume.

The Commons took the earliest opportunity of sending notice to the Lords, that they conceived the King's conduct in their House to have been 'a high and great breach of privilege.' But what was the equal astonishment of parliament and the nation, when his Majesty himself, but a few days afterward, ap-

peared to solicit the scorn, as much as he had before excited the wrath of the Houses, by voluntarily informing them, that 'being very desirous of giving satisfaction' in all points relating to privilege, he had 'waived his former proceedings;' and, shortly after this, that he 'offered a free pardon to the accused persons, and all other his subjects!'

Among the signs of those perilous times, may be here noticed PETITIONS out of number from vast bodies of the people, assembled in all parts of the land, stating the resolution of the parties subscribing 'to live and die in defence of the privileges of parliament:' these petitions being from counties, cities, towns, parishes, and various trades; the latter including the *porters*, who alone it is said amounted to fifteen thousand. The *apprentices* also petitioned, to the same effect; as did at last even the *beggars*. Another strong symptom of the revolutionary spirit abroad, was, that *the women* were very generally seized with the mania of politics; and discovered, in a multitude of instances, minds yet more agitated than those of the men: and these also, to the number of many thousands, proceeded with their petition to Westminster.

Meantime, the King, in shame, but greatly to the discontent of the Commons, had removed to Hampton Court. While there, he

dispatched a message to the House, the object of which professed to be, to obtain a knowledge of their farther desires, in order that, if possible, he might concede to them. Emboldened by their recent triumph, the members scrupled not to demand that the Tower, with all the other principal fortresses in the kingdom, and the militia, (both the army and navy being then so styled,) should be entrusted to persons of their choosing. Charles must have been lost to all sense of his dignity, his honour, and his duty, had he complied with these requisitions: but, on his refusal, which must of course have been calculated upon, as the King also had perhaps calculated what kind of reception his proposals would meet with from the parliament, the act for 'settling the militia' passed both Houses, and, by its provisions, conferred on themselves all the military powers they could desire. By this measure, the Parliament put an end to the agitation of a question among their members, how far the power of the militia inherently resided in the King; the two Houses, as is observed by Blackstone, "not only denying this prerogative of the crown, the legality of which perhaps might be somewhat doubtful; but also seizing into their own hands the entire power of the militia, the illegality of which step could never be any doubt at all." The ordinance of the parliament was

opposed by a proclamation from the King; and the latter again was styled void in law, and obedience required to their ordinance by the Parliament.

But before these decisive steps had been taken, the King passed some bills by commission; and, among others, one for depriving the bishops of their votes in the Upper House, and of every species of temporal office and jurisdiction. To suppose that, in these last unqualified concessions, he was actuated by any sincere desire to avoid coming to extremities with the Parliament, or, at most, that such a desire was ever more than the momentary product of his convictions or his fears, would very possibly be erroneous; but it would be equally so to conceive, that the Parliament were in their hearts a whit more peaceably disposed. But, on the other hand again, from the moment of his leaving Whitehall, notwithstanding his afterward acting with the Houses on some occasions, it became in due time evident that Charles had contemplated a rupture with his subjects; for his Queen at the same moment embarked for Holland, to procure, as it turned out, by the sale of the crown jewels, warlike supplies.

Proceeding on toward York, notwithstanding all the representations of the Parliament, the King soon afterward appeared before the

town of Hull; hoping, by surprise, to obtain possession of a large quantity of military stores, there deposited: but the governor, Sir John Hotham, having, as a measure of precaution, been already specially charged with the care of this place by the Parliament, absolutely refused admission to the royal party; and was immediately by his Majesty declared a traitor. On this occasion, Hotham, mounting the town-wall, knelt to the King, and besought him not to command that, 'which, without breach of trust, he could not obey.'

A commission of array, agreeably to usage of the crown up to this period, in cases of domestic insurrection, or the prospect of foreign invasions, was now directed to the several counties; by which, various persons of rank were appointed to 'array, train, and muster' the people in the King's behalf. After very considerable opposition in both Houses, the Parliament also voted the assembling an army, to be confided to the command of the Earl of Essex. These measures, in their operation, gave to every county a civil war within itself: for some were nearly equally divided in their sentiments, and of course did not enlist on opposite sides without the occurrence of scenes of violence, and sometimes bloodshed; some counties, as that interesting contemporary authoress, Mrs. Hutchinson, relates, were 'in the

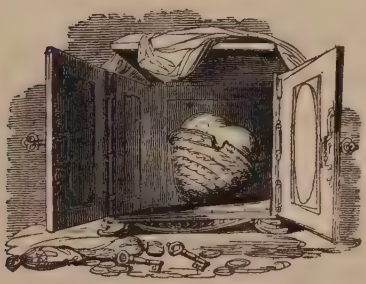
beginning so wholly for the Parliament, that the King's interest appeared not in them;' others 'so wholly for the King, that *the godly*, for these generally were the Parliament's friends, were forced to forsake their habitations and seek other shelter.'* The King retorted upon the Parliament's preparations, by a proclamation for suppressing the 'rebellion' headed by Essex; and, shortly after, commenced overtly the civil war, by erecting his standard at Not-

* About the same time, the appellations of *cavalier* and *roundhead* came into general use, to denote the opposite parties. The former, it is well known, designated the King's friends; and of the origin of the latter, the ingenious authoress just quoted gives the following account:—"When Puritanisme grew into a faction, the zealotts distinguisht themselves, both men and women, by severall affectations of habitt, lookes, and words, which, had it bene a reall declension of vanity, and embracing of sobriety in all those things, had bene most commendable in them," &c. "Among other affected habitts, few of the Puritanes, what degree soever they were of, wore their haire long enough to cover their eares; and the ministers and many others cut it close round their heads, with so many little peakes, as was something ridiculous to behold. From this custom of wearing their haires, that name of Roundhead became the scornful terme given to the whole parliament party; whose army indeed marcht out so; but as if they had bene sent out only till their haire was growne." Two or three years afterwards, however, she continues, the custom, it may be presumed, having declined, "any stranger that had seen them would have enquired the reason of that name."

tingham. This melancholy act took place, to the general sadness of the town, August 25, 1642; and it was observed, as an ill omen to Charles, that a tempestuous wind overturned the standard the very same evening it was erected.

In the preceding brief narration of the principal events which prepared the way to this calamitous civil war, very much, since the present volume does not affect the character of a history of those times, has naturally been omitted. Some rather important features of that singular era, unregarded by our *best known* historians, have, however, been given: and such a notice of those events will be allowed to have been necessary to complete a portraiture of Cromwell, by recalling to view that extraordinary combination of external circumstances, to which his most remarkable characteristics, and the general turn given to his genius and public conduct, must in such great measure be ascribed. A mighty theatre was now opened to his view, in which a mournful but grand spectacle was about to be displayed.—Liberty, disguised indeed under a cloud of errors, was on the eve of conflict with tyranny, but little veiled by much personal virtue, and many amiable qualities, in the tyrant. Talents, of all kinds, that, happily perhaps for their possessors, slumbered, and would have been bu-

ried, beneath the calm of national concord, rose rapidly to their level amidst the uproar of a kingdom in arms; and became the speedy harbingers to numbers, of success, fame, victory, of glorious, or ignominious death.—The wonderful powers of Cromwell's mind, and their applicability to any employment in which they could find scope, will be at once apparent from the consideration, that he had now passed forty-three years of his life, without a seeming opportunity to imbibe a single military idea; and yet, that a very short career in the military profession, sufficed to place him in the very foremost rank of able and successful captains, whether of ancient or modern times.



CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE CIVIL WAR TO THE PARLIAMENT'S ORDINANCE FOR NEW MODELLING THEIR ARMY.

Cromwell's Activity at this Period.—Notices of him by various Contemporaries.—Mode of Disciplining his Soldiers.—Visits his Uncle Sir Oliver, *en militaire*.—Situation of the Opposed Parties.—Battle of Edgehill.—Grantham Fight.—Death of Hampden.—Cromwell relieves Gainsborough.—Battle near Horncastle.—The Scots enter England.—Battle of MarstonMoor.—Various Engagements.—Treaty of Uxbridge.—Proceedings of the Parliament.—Supposed Real Conduct of Cromwell relative to the "Self-Denying Ordinance."—The Army New-Modelled.—Cromwell prepares to resign his Command.

Previously to the actual breaking out of the war, Cromwell, who appears to have all along resolved to stand or fall with the Parliament, had proved himself an active partizan, by distributing arms in the town of Cambridge, which he represented; by raising a troop of horse out of that county and Hunts, in both of which he was well known and respected by the popular party; by seizing the magazine in Cambridge Castle, for the use of the Parliament; and by stopping a quantity of plate, that was on its

way from that University to the King at York. Acts, all of these, which, though among the most prominent of that early period, were justified (if, as Cromwell deemed, the popular cause was justifiable) by the hostile attitude of the King, and by the Parliament's sanction and co-operation. He did yet more: for he 'contributed, by his great wisdom and indefatigable industry, to crush in the beginning all the endeavours of the King's party, in several counties, to raise a force for the King' :* nay, he actually arrested the High-Sheriff of Hertfordshire, at the moment when the latter was proceeding to St. Alban's, to publish the King's proclamation, which declared 'the Parliament-Commanders all traitors.' The conduct, sagacity, and the peculiar policy he evinced in these enterprizes, and more particularly in the choice and discipline of his men, have been noticed and admired by writers of the most opposite character. Whitelock says, 'He had a brave troop of horse of his countrymen, most of them freeholders and freeholders' sons, who, upon matter of conscience, engaged in this quarrel with Cromwell. And thus being well armed within, by the satisfaction of their own consciences, and without in good iron armour, they would as one man stand firmly, and charge

* May.

desperately.' 'As for Noll Cromwell,' said the editor of a newspaper of the day, (the then celebrated Marchamont Needham,) with to the l as much truth as intended sarcasm, 'he is gone forth in the might of his spirit, with all his train of disciples; every one of whom is as David, a man of war, and a prophet; gifted men all, that resolve to their work better than any of the sons of Levi,' &c. *(h)* 'At his first entrance into the wars,' observe the "*Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*," 'being but captain of horse, he had a special care to get *religious* men into his troop: these men were of greater understanding than common soldiers, and therefore were more apprehensive of the importance and consequences of the war,' &c.—'By this means indeed, he sped better than he expected.—Heréupon he got a commission to take some care of the associated counties;* where he brought this troop into a double regiment of fourteen full troops, and all these as full of *religious* men as he could get: these, having more than ordinary wit and resolution, had more than ordinary success.'

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* Mrs. Hutchinson informs us, that the neighbouring counties every where associated, for the mutual assistance of each other: the example, however, was first set by the Earl of Newcastle, who, at an early period of the troubles, associated the loyalists of some of the counties for the King.

In "Monarchy asserted to be the best form of government, in a Conference at Whitehall between Oliver and a Committee of Parliament," (being the identical conference at which he refused to take upon him the title of King), Cromwell himself is represented to have said much confirming these accounts. Among other things, he relates a conversation between himself and 'a verie noble person,' and his 'verie worthy friend, Mr. John Hampden:' in which, after noticing that the Parliament's troops, at his 'first going out into that engagement, were beaten on every hand,' he tells them that he suggested to that patriot the remedy:—'*Your* troops, said I, are most of them old decayed serving-men, and tapsters, and such kind of fellows; and, said I, *their* (the King's) troops are gentlemen's sons, younger sons, and persons of quality:—do you think the spirits of such base and mean fellows will be ever able to encounter gentlemen, that have honour, and courage, and resolution in them? Truly, I did tell him, you must get men of a spirit—of a spirit that will go on as far as gentlemen will go; or else I am sure you will be beaten still.' Hampden, he then observes, thought he 'talked a good notion, but an impracticable one;' 'but,' continues he, 'I raised such men as had the fear of God before them, and made some conscience of what they did;

and, from that day forward, I must say to you, they were never beaten, but, wherever they engaged the enemy, they beat continually.' A more decisive evidence of Cromwell's genius could scarcely have been given, than appears in this discovery, (which seems to have been first made by him,) that, to enlist the religious enthusiasm of the times on the Parliament's side, was the method most likely to infuse a quality into their troops, that 'would go on as far as gentlemen will go.' To set the 'honour, and courage, and resolution,' proper to a high tone of religious feeling, in array against the same military virtues, inspired by high birth and loyalty, was a master-stroke; and, to the dexterous application of this policy, may justly be ascribed the whole success and results of the war.

But, not contenting himself with the mere profession of religion in his men, "he used them daily to look after, feed, and dress their horses; taught them to clean and keep their arms bright, and have them ready for service; to chuse the best armour, and arm themselves to the best advantage." Upon fitting occasions, and in order to inure their bodies to the service of the field, he also made them sleep together upon the bare ground; and, one day, before they actually met the enemy, tried their courage by a stratagem. Leading them into

a pretended ambuscade, he caused his seeming discovery of danger to be attended with all the 'noise, pomp, and circumstance' of a surrounding foe: terrified at which, about twenty of the troop turned their backs, and fled; and these he directly dismissed, desiring them, however, to leave their horses for such as would fight the Lord's battles in their stead. Thus trained, when the contest really ensued, Cromwell's horse "excelled all their fellow soldiers in feats of war, and obtained more victories over the enemy." And if they excelled them in courage, so did they also in civility, order, and discipline. The court journal, indeed, the *Mercurius Aulicus*, charged them with many cruelties and excesses, of which every circumstance proves the maliciousness and falsehood. For, while a very large number of the King's party, in sober truth, gave themselves up to every species of debauchery in their own persons, and to all manner of spoliation of the peaceable inhabitants, of whom they speedily became the terror and detestation, another contemporary print justly said of Cromwell's soldiers—'no man swears, but he pays his twelvepence; if he be drunk, he is set in the stocks, or worse; if one calls the other roundhead, he is cashiered: insomuch, that the countries where they come leap for joy of them,

and come in and join with them. How happy were it, if all the forces were thus disciplined!'

It was also during the preparations for offensive operations on both sides, that an incident occurred, that has been marked by many comments, and is thus related by Sir Philip Warwick. 'Whilst I was about Huntingdon, visiting old Sir Oliver Cromwell, his uncle and godfather, at his house at Ramsey, he told me this story of his successful nephew and godson.—That he visited him with a good strong party of horse, and asked him his blessing; and, that the few hours he was there, he would not keep his hat on in his presence; but, at the same time, that he not only disarmed, but plundered him; for he took away all his plate.' In Cromwell this was perfectly characteristic—but with one material qualification of the account; viz. that he appears to have acted in the business under the orders of his superior officer, the Earl of Manchester, who had been commissioned by the Parliament to seize upon the plate and arms of all the royalists in Hunts, and the adjoining counties. So that Sir Philip's story merely goes to prove, that Cromwell, in the execution of his general instructions, coupled their performance, in this instance, with all the tenderness and respect for his near relative, that were consistent with his

duty to the cause he had espoused: an inference, which this very partial writer certainly never intended should be drawn from his narration; but which, with a knowledge of these facts, every candid reader will readily admit.

The Parliament, at the outset of hostilities, were possessed of every advantage over the King. All the places of strength in the kingdom were in their hands; their party was, beyond all comparison, the most numerous; they themselves were honoured, nay, almost adored, by the great body of the nation, as an example to all times and countries in which kingly despotism might again rear its detested head; they commanded, almost unlimitedly, the purses of the people; and they had taken care to be amply supplied with every munition of war. On the contrary, so ill provided was the King in every respect, that nothing would have been more easy, than for his enemies to seize upon his person at Nottingham; disperse the little band of royalists, that had there collected round his standard; and thus commence and end the contest at a stroke. But the Parliament, willing perhaps to permit the latent hostility of his party to expand, were it only to convince the world of its existence—and sensible besides, with Hobbes, that 'the English would never have taken it well, that the Parliament should make war upon the King,

upon any provocation, unless it were in their own defence, in case the King should first make war upon them,'—neglected the favourable opportunity; and Charles availed himself of their neglect, to exert himself with a degree of industry and talent, that astonished both his friends and his enemies. His zeal, in fine, assisted by the efforts of his adherents, soon created and equipped a force, which, though still inferior to the Parliament's in numbers, much more than counterbalanced that advantage by their alacrity, courage, and general soldierlike qualities.

'And now,' writes Mrs. Hutchinson, 'were all the countreyes in England noe longer idle spectators, but severall stages, whereon the tragedie of the civill warre was acted; except the easterne association, where *Mr. Oliver Cromwell*, by his diligence, prevented the designes of the royall party.'—The first engagement of any consequence between the two armies, was that fought at Edgehill, in Warwickshire, on Sunday, Oct. 24th; the King being himself present, and giving the Parliament, it is more than likely, a decided check. Cromwell's description of the *materiel* of the contending parties, at the opening of the conflict, would alone render this probable. Yet both sides claimed the honour of the field;—if victory over countrymen, friends, neighbours, kinsmen, nay, even brothers, now met in mortal strife, could be

called an honour;*—though it would appear to convey some proof of apprehension in the two Houses, as to the ultimate consequences of the war, that, within a fortnight after this battle, they framed a declaration, to be transmitted to Scotland, in which the prompt assistance of an army of that nation was earnestly intreated.

Meantime, the eminent services of troops, so disciplined and commanded as Cromwell's, were quickly perceived and appreciated by their employers, and it was not long before their leader was rewarded with a colonelcy. In the fight near Grantham, which soon ensued, Ludlow tells us, he "defeated *twenty-four* troops of the enemy's horse and dragoons, with *seven* troops only which he had with him." The various other engagements which followed, and in which Charles had usually the advantage upon the whole, whatever laurels Cromwell might gather from many of the details, were interrupted only by an almost mock conference for an amicable adjustment; for the Parliament's tena-

* Ludlow, speaking of his own defence of Warder Castle, relates of one of the besiegers, who was killed, that he said, in his expiring moments, that he had seen his *brother* in the breach, and firing the musket by which he received his mortal wound.

city, and the King's vacillation and insincerity, necessarily brought it to an unfavourable close. In the fight of Chalgrave Field, Bucks, June 18th, 1643, in which the Parliamentarians sustained a defeat, the noted popular champion, Hampden, was slain. He appears to have been a man of invincible resolution, and of very eminent ability, if not of first-rate parts: brave in the field, even to unjustifiable rashness; owing to which he lost his life: a true lover of his country: but, his shining acts of patriotism so qualified by views, whose utmost scope, to appearance, was republican, as to shew him calculated to sustain a less useful part in the revolution begun, than in the ranks of opposition to that tyranny, by which it had been so mainly generated.

Toward the close of the same month, Cromwell signalized himself by his masterly relief of Gainsborough; which, Whitelock says, 'was the beginning of his great fortunes, and now he began to appear in the world.' His military skill was here principally evinced in an uphill charge he made upon the rear of the troops, (thrice the number of his own), commanded by the royalist Lieutenant-General Cavendish, after the latter had completely routed the Lincolnshire men who fought for the Parliament: Cromwell, by this manœuvre, restoring the battle,

and driving the young and brave Cavendish, and a number of his men, into a quagmire, where, being nearly all, with that gallant officer, killed, no quarter is said (maliciously, perhaps,) to have been given by the Colonel's victorious cavalry, in the heat and rage of the pursuit. On this occasion commenced Cromwell's 'inseparable league' with Ireton, who, as a major in the Parliament's army, co-operated with him in the enterprise; Ireton appearing to have been so charmed with Cromwell's conduct, that he 'quite left Colonel Thornhagh's regiment,' to join him, as noticed by Mrs. Hutchinson, and not long after married his eldest daughter, Bridget. Individual military skill, however, while confined to a colonel's post, could but little operate to retrieve the Parliament's falling fortunes; which were at this time actually reduced to nearly the lowest ebb.

In October, 1643, Cromwell led the van of the forces commanded by the Earl of Manchester, in their attack of the royalists at Windsby Field, near Horncastle. The results of this engagement were, decided success on the part of the Parliamentarians, and the dawn of better fortune to their cause. At the words "Truth and Peace," Cromwell's '*thirty-seven* troops of horse and dragoons,' himself at their head, advanced, singing psalms; reserving their charge, however, until Sir John Henderson's

'*eighty-seven*,' who were seen coming down upon them, had fired: for these latter, says Ludlow,' "hearing that Colonel Cromwell was drawn out with the horse, made haste to engage him before the foot could march up." So expeditious indeed were the royalist evolutions, that their second salute, followed by a desperate charge, met and arrested the parliamentarians' onset. By the last volley, Cromwell's horse was killed, and fell with him to the ground; and, ere he was well risen, being now mixed *pèle méle* with the combatants, he was again prostrated by the hand of a royalist gentleman, thought to have been Sir Ingram Hopton. Again rising, however, he seized a sorry horse from one of his troopers, remounted, and contributed his personal share to the victory finally obtained; a victory so complete, that the enemy were pursued almost to Lincoln, a distance of fourteen miles.—The amiable and lamented Lord Falkland, who, previously to the commencement of the war, had heartily co-operated with the Parliament, but who went over to the King when he penetrated into their ambitious views, fell, in September of the same year, in the first battle of Newbury, which proved another though very indecisive victory to the popular party.—Nearly at the close of this campaign, Cromwell took Hilsdon House by assault, and for a time kept Oxford in a state of considerable alarm. By all which

achievements, and others of less importance, he so advanced his military reputation, that public opinion already began to pit him against Prince Rupert, the most daring leader of the King's party; and the King himself is stated to have once exclaimed, 'I would that some would do me the good fortune to bring Cromwell to me, alive or dead'! Afterward, as Whitelock tells us, he was appointed Governor of the Isle of Ely, with "the like power for levying money there for his forces, as the Earl of Manchester had in the associated counties."

Early in the following year, the Scots army, under General Lord Leven, crossed the river Tweed; and in April effected a junction with the English forces attached to the Parliament's interest in the North. This was in pursuance of an instrument, signed by the chief of the parliamentarians of both nations, and called, 'A Solemn League and Covenant, for Reformation and Defence of Religion, *the Honour and Happiness of the King*, and the Peace and Safety of the Three Kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland.' Among the English signatures occurs that of 'Oliver Cromwell.' It is observable, that in this, as indeed in all their preceding declarations, the Parliament ever affected to espouse the King's cause, as though he had deserted and were contending against himself; a proof that, to render their conduct

anywise reconcileable to the national feelings, it was necessary to separate the royal person and office, and, while they used their utmost efforts to subdue the one, to maintain an appearance of the deepest reverence for the other. Cromwell, however, as though he conceived this distinction too nice to be entertained by private soldiers, and one likely to have an ill effect upon their military conduct, is said, long before, upon raising his troop, to have told them that "*he* would not cozen them by the perplexed expressions in his commission, 'to fight for King and Parliament;'" and that, "therefore, if the King chanced to be in the body of the enemy, he would as soon discharge his pistol upon him as upon any private man; and if their consciences would not let them do the like, he advised them not to list themselves under him."

The siege of York, where the Marquis of Newcastle, with a body of royalists under his command, had been shut up by the united forces of Lords Fairfax, Leven, and Manchester, (to the latter of whom Cromwell had been appointed Lieutenant-general) was raised by the sudden appearance of Prince Rupert, in great strength, from the South. The Parliamentarians, from growing divisions among themselves, and from other causes, were willing to resign the city to their new adversary, and drew off in the

direction of Marston Moor. But, ere arrived at that spot, they received intelligence of the approach of the Prince; who, with that superfluous bravery which characterized him, not contenting himself with accomplishing the object of his march, was in truth rapidly coming up, bringing with him the Marquis of Newcastle's lately besieged troops, in addition to his own army.

The Scots, having marched in the advance, were hastily recalled; and, forming the line of battle with their comrades upon elevated and advantageous ground, the united armies were enabled, upon the appearance of their foe, to present a front so extensive and imposing, (being still numerically somewhat superior to his own forces), that it had the effect of checking his accustomed impetuosity, and to delay the meditated attack. Some hours even were occupied in seeming indecision on both sides. Till, at length, the Parliamentarians themselves resolved upon a general charge of the royalist line; and descended, Cromwell leading the onset with the horse of the left wing. But the Prince repelled and countercharged this attack of his enemies with very signal success; their entire right, and main body, including nearly the whole Scots army, and Fairfax's, being beaten from the field; and had he not, with his exulting followers, too improvidently pursued the advantage

he had gained, the contest, beyond a doubt, had been decided in his favour. For, so general appeared the confusion of his enemies, that he even "sent letters (couriers more probably) to the King, to acquaint him with the victory."*

In this extraordinary emergency, however, and when the three Parliamentary generals, considering all as lost, had actually quitted the ground, '*Cromwell, with the brave regiment of his countrymen,*'† (300 strong),‡ they only unappalled, were even yet observed persisting in the desperate conflict with Prince Rupert's right, with which commenced this singularly contested battle. Sir Thomas Fairfax, (son of the nobleman of that name,) who had commanded the right wing, recalled to himself by such an example, promptly rallied some horse: while Cromwell, though the Marquis of Newcastle's foot, (the troops immediately opposed to him), had up to this moment 'stood like a a wall,'‖ now began to 'mow them down like a meadow.'§ Re-animated at the sight, his entire brigade returned to the conflict: at the same time, a body of Scots, under the gallant Major-General Leslie, attacking the Mar-

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* Ludlow. † Whitelock. ‡ Rushworth.
‖ Sir Philip Warwick. § Ibid.

quis in flank, completed his defeat. Then, aided by these troops, by those reclaimed through the exertions of Sir Thomas Fairfax, and at length by all the Parliamentarians remaining upon the field, Cromwell fell resistlessly upon the detached bodies of the enemy, become divided in the fury of their late pursuit, and totally dispersed them, after (in all) 'a three hours' fight.' Seeing the victory secured, he now in person pursued their flying divisions to the very gates of York, which he scarcely allowed them breathing time to enter in indescribable confusion. The capture of all the baggage and artillery of the royalist army, with the speedy surrender of York, were the consequences of this signal victory; which, it has been sufficiently apparent, was gained almost entirely by an exertion of the most extraordinary courage and conduct in Cromwell.*

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* Yet such is seen to be the malice of one at least of his *Presbyterian* enemies, (Lord Holles,) that this very battle is instanced by him to afford a proof of Cromwell's *cowardice!* —but his 'philippic, rather than a history,' as it has been justly called, contains not a particle of truth, relative to this great conflict, if we except its mention that Cromwell received a slight pistol wound in the neck—so slight, indeed, that he appears not to have been conscious of it, so long as he had a duty to perform at his post—and for which, it is very possible, therefore, he might have been indebted, as his adversary says,

Two other operations of consequence took place before the end of the year: in the issue of one of which, the Earl of Essex, then in Cornwall, was obliged to make his personal

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to the negligent firing of one of his own soldiers. Mrs. Hutchinson, who was no friend to the future Protector, does him justice, notwithstanding, in her relation of the battle of Marston Moor; which, she says, had been "lost, but that Cromwell, with five thousand men which he commanded, routed Prince Rupert, restored the other routed Parliamentarians, and gained the most compleate victory that had been obteined in the whole warre." The *five thousand men* this lady speaks of, must mean the horse in the left wing, which, seconded by Leslie, he led under the orders of Manchester; and this wing, taken as a whole, was defeated, it would appear, though not entirely driven from the field, or Manchester would scarcely have been induced to quit it with his brother generals. As to a very large number both of the English and Scots, under Lords Fairfax and Leven, they, when Cromwell made his crowning efforts, were far distant from the scene, and were not even heard of until two days afterward: the main body of the Scots in particular, led on by their grey-headed General, were in full flight for their native country; and had traversed thirty miles from Marston Moor, when the news of their party's final success reached them. It was *Cromwell, with his single regiment*, it is hence seen, that turned the scale of the battle of Marston Moor, agreeably to Whitelock's mention; and the contest, as here described, however remarkable, is more consistent with probability, than either the confessedly imperfect idea of it conveyed by Rapin, or the relation of Hume; which latter adopts the most unlikely feature of the French historian, in leaving the final de-

escape, while his men surrendered their arms and artillery to the King; and in the other, the second battle of Newbury, though Cromwell, "with the same felicity and valour, had the better on that part of the field where he fought," both sides separated without securing any material advantage; night arriving, most opportunely for

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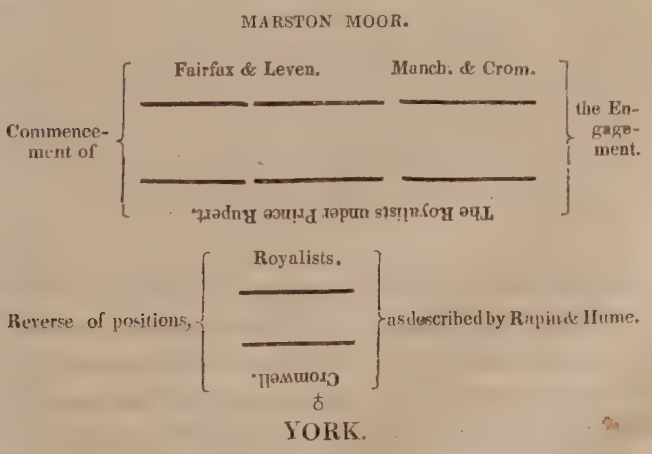
cision of the battle to the *whole* left wing under Cromwell, engaged with Prince Rupert's right—each of these bodies, according to both those writers, taking up the precise ground that had been occupied by their *opponents* at the commencement of the conflict. Had this reverse of positions really taken place, the beaten army could not have retreated upon York; for, agreeably to such statement, the Parliament's left wing, with Cromwell, (the immediate instruments of their discomfiture,) must have pre-occupied the ground *between* them and that city. This will be more readily seen, perhaps, from the following rude sketch of the field:



his Majesty, to prevent a victory his enemies were on the point to obtain. In this latter affair, a body of the Parliamentarians, who had been so lately necessitated to submit to the King's terms in Cornwall, now recovering some pieces of cannon formerly theirs, embraced them with transports and tears of joy. And it was solely owing to an irresolute policy in the Earl of Manchester, the sources of which will be presently explained, that the results of the second battle of Newbury were not of a character to extinguish the hopes of Charles: Cromwell vainly representing to his superior officer, how easy it would now be to finish the late nearly achieved victory, and with it the war; and earnestly, but as vainly, desiring to be permitted only to charge the King with his own brigade of horse, as the latter triumphantly retired from Dunnington Castle, with the artillery he had deposited there after the late engagement, and which he was now allowed to convey away in the face of the superior army of the Parliament. Propositions for peace, from the two Houses and the Scotch Commissioners, to the King, followed; and, in consequence, the delegates on both sides commenced the treaty of Uxbridge, in January, 1645. But, after debating their conflicting claims till beyond the middle of the ensuing February, they parted without having made

the slightest real progress toward an accommodation.

Some proceedings of the Parliament, prior to the opening of the year 1645, here demand our attention. Of these, the unjustifiable attainder, and after execution, of Archbishop Laud, deserve passing notice; not merely on account of their unnecessary, as unconstitutional severity, but as the achievements of the *Presbyterian* faction in the Houses, who had now begun to take the lead in all ecclesiastical and civil affairs; but to all whose measures, Cromwell, it must be observed, was diametrically opposed. On the same day that Laud's bill of attainder passed the Commons, an ordinance was voted for abolishing the Book of Common Prayer, and establishing in its stead a *Directory* for public worship, the work of an *Assembly of Divines;*—but an assembly, 'neither chosen by any rule or custom ecclesiastical, nor eminent for either piety or knowledge above others left out, but only as each member of parliament, in private fancy, thought fit, so elected one by one.'* The yet more remarkable of these pro-

* Milton. The glowing bard, who now as honestly censured, as he had formerly panegyrised the actions of the Parliament, treats these proceedings with all the caustic of his pen; particularly animadverting on the inconsistency of 'the most part' of these divines, who, though they had so lately

ceedings, being one that grew out of all the sincerity, hypocrisy, enthusiasm, self-devotedness, calculation, selfishness, jealousy, intrigue, and subtilty, of either Cromwell, his compeers, or the times, merits more particular mention.

That specious instrument of all those passions and qualities of the mind, the '*Self-denying Ordinance*,' is now alluded to. The first mention of this, in the Journals of the House of Commons, occurs in December, 1644: but its primary source, although there were many subsequent ones, was probably the 'Solemn League and Covenant' between the English and Scotch nations before spoken of. A principal article of this League, bound the contracting parties 'to endeavour to bring the churches of God in the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, form of church government,' &c. Another, and, as it must now appear, much more extraordinary stipulation, was, that both nations should 'endeavour, with their estates and lives'—not only 'to preserve the rights and privileges of the parliaments, and the liberties of the kingdoms'—but '*to preserve and defend the King's Majesty's person and au-*

'preached and cried down, with great shew of zeal, the avarice and pluralities of bishops and prelates,' were now 'setting sail to all winds that might blow gain into their covetous bosoms,' &c. &c.—(*Prose Works.*)

thority!'—'*that the world might bear witness of their loyalty, and that they had no thoughts nor intentions to diminish his Majesty's just power and greatness!*'

The Scots being the framers of this covenant, there can be little question that they, generally, were sincere in their subscription to its several articles. Their religious enthusiasm was inflamed to a much higher pitch than that of their southern brethren; and, fortified in the severe rectitude of their main intentions, however their views might be narrowed by the grossest and most intolerant bigotry, as they aimed only at the spread of that religion, within whose pale 'Christ,' in their language, was exclusively to be found, they neither saw that their operations were undermining the throne of their prince, nor conceived of any present or future designs in the English leaders to effect its downfall. The triumph of Presbyterianism over the Parliamentary party in England, appeared at first, to their unspeakable satisfaction, complete; and such a triumph elated them more than would a thousand martial victories. But, self-interest had operated with numbers both of the English parliament and army, in the production of this signal success; and the men who had entered into so solemn an engagement with the Scots, from the temporary conviction, produced by early want of success, of the press-

ing necessity for securing their assistance in the contest, had become, in many instances, lukewarm, or even hostile, to more than one of the declared 'ends of the covenant.' Cromwell, with others, though by this time sufficiently averse to prelacy, and very desirous to witness some amendment of the old administration of church affairs, saw not without disgust the harsh and exclusive spirit that predominated in the doctrines and conduct of the newly established hierarchy; and he, with such, evinced their equal dissent from episcopacy and presbyterianism, by styling themselves *Independents*.* And, to numbers of the English of both sects, the article regarding the preservation of 'the King's Majesty's person and authority' was distasteful;

* In regard to whom, it is particularly worth while to remember Hume's admission, that "of all Christian sects, this was the *first*, which, during its prosperity as well as its adversity, always adopted the *principle of toleration*." Popery, episcopacy, and presbyterianism, had equally distinguished themselves, by seeking their individual advancement through the merciless destruction of all religions opposed to them: it remained for Independency, of which Cromwell was one of the chief founders, liberally to conceive the idea, and adopt the practice, of sheltering and protecting men of all religious denominations, who professed the common Christian faith, and permitting the free exercise of every form of Christian worship. Notwithstanding which, liberty of conscience continued to be fanatically considered, by the great majority in all other sects, as '*a toleration for soul-murder*.'

conscious, as they were, that they had so far committed themselves against the King, as to have little to hope from his return to undisputed sovereignty; although the seeming necessity just spoken of, and a politic compliance with that respect for royalty so deeply rooted in the breasts of their countrymen in general, taught them in appearance readily to subscribe to it.

The nobility, it began ere this time to appear, notwithstanding they had very generally come into the earlier measures of opposition to Charles's government, both from their old hereditary jealousy of the crown, and their unusual oppressions and neglects ever since the accession of Henry the Seventh, were every day becoming more convinced, that they had unwittingly contributed to place the people, under the guidance of their Commons' House, upon such a footing of equality with themselves, as had already engendered rivalry, and threatened mastership. They had now, therefore, every disposition possible to coalesce with the Scots, in entering into a *peace* with the King, that should at once secure him in the possession of his 'just power and greatness,' and confirm in themselves those privileges of rank and birth, whose best support, next to that of legitimate popular freedom, they saw to be legitimate monarchical prerogative. But they went much

farther: for the Earls of Essex and Manchester, who had been intrusted with the command of the Parliament's forces, and who might be said to be the representatives of the great body of the nobles with the army, had seemed, since the battle of Marston Moor, to neutralize the efforts of their soldiers, as though they were unwilling to make the popular cause too eminent; and, though not actually to allow themselves to be beaten by the King, to make little advantage of his failures, and occasionally even to permit him to avail himself of a drawn battle, or a positive defeat, as though it had been to him a victory. Owing to these causes, it had become apparent that the Parliament, instead of approaching to the state of things they so much desired, and by which they had once hoped effectually to give the law to their sovereign, were even yet losing ground in the contest.

All these were facts, that, least of all, were likely to escape the eagle eye of Cromwell. At once piercing to the origin, deprecating the consequences, and resolving upon the cure, of the malady that had attached itself to the Parliament's cause, he set himself boldly and dexterously to work, commencing, to the high satisfaction of the Commons, by a formal accusation of his commanding officer, the Earl of Manchester; one of the chief grounds of which, was the Earl's already cited behaviour at the

King's relief of Dunnington Castle. The Earl gave into the House of Lords a written justification of his conduct; and, if we may believe Lord Clarendon, violently recriminated upon his Lieutenant-general; whom, indeed, his Lordship states Manchester to have charged with formerly talking about 'giving the law (through the army) to King and Parliament:'—expressions, which no man of common prudence, much less a man so eminently and uniformly prudent as Cromwell, could have ventured, more particularly at an early stage of the war, to utter. But, however this were, it is certain that neither House permitted itself to go into any enquiry, either as to Manchester or Cromwell; a fact, which of itself appears to refute the idea, that the expressions just alluded to were ever credited, if ever really charged, against the latter. For, would the Parliament, believing that he had indulged in such language, have suffered it to pass entirely unreproved in a subaltern officer, even though they suspended (for they only suspended) their vengeance against his principal? Or, with a knowledge that the Lieutenant-general had entertained designs, by means of their army, to 'give themselves the law,' would the Parliament have almost immediately afterward proceeded to adopt a measure, at his express suggestion, for re-casting this army after his own

plans, and then have placed him (in fact, though not nominally) at its head? Yet such, as we shall soon see, were the steps the House did actually pursue.

But Cromwell, it remains to be told, whose military fame had made him enemies, and had become a source of jealousy to the Lord-General (the Earl of Essex) himself, appears, by his activity in this business, in union with other circumstances, to have agitated a plot, which, in the sequel, might have involved his personal safety; and to which the Lord-General, and the Scots Commissioners in London, condescended to become principal parties. The former, besides his jealousy already spoken of, had, it appears, taken umbrage at Cromwell's report to Parliament of the recent battle of Newbury; in which he had 'seemed,' says Whitelock, 'but cautiously enough, to lay more blame on the officers of the Lord-General's army than upon any other:' and the latter (the Commissioners) are said to have been very ill pleased with him, both on account of his aversion to Presbyterianism, and of some words he had dropped, derogatory, as they considered, to the honour of their nation. Whitelock's account of the prosecution and failure of this conspiracy—for such it literally was—against the reputation, and perhaps life, of Cromwell, is extremely curious; and gives,

by its colloquial form, a perfect representation of the language and sentiments of some of the principal *dramatis personæ*, on the Parliament's side, of the day. Our limits forbid the insertion of more than a very few passages.

'One evening, very late,' he informs us, 'Maynard and I were sent for by the Lord-General to Essex-House; and there was no excuse to be admitted, nor did we know beforehand the occasion of our being sent for. When we came to Essex-House, we were brought to the Lord-General; and with him were the Scots Commissioners, Mr. Holles, Sir Philip Stapylton, Sir John Meyrick, and divers others of his special friends. After compliments, and that all were set down in council, the Lord General,' —having requested the Lord Chancellor of Scotland, as the better orator, to explain the object of the meeting—the latter 'spake to this effect:

'Mr. Maynard and Mr. Whitelock * * * *—You ken vary weele that Lieutenant-General Cromwell is no friend of ours; and, since the advance of our army into England, he hath used all underhand and cunning means to take from our honour and merit of this kingdom; an evil requital of all our hazards and services: but so it is; and we are, nevertheless, fully satisfied of the affections and gratitude of the gude people of this nation in the general.

'It is thought requisite for us, and for the carrying on of the cause of the tway kingdoms, that this obstacle, or remora,

may be removed out of the way; whom, we foresee, will otherwise be no small impediment to us, and the gude design we have undertaken.

'He not only is no friend to us, and to the government of our church, but he is also no well-wisher to His Excellence, whom you and we all have cause to love and honor; and, if he be permitted to go on his ways, it may, I fear, endanger the whole business: therefore, we are to advise of some course to be taken for the prevention of that mischief.

'You ken vary weele the accord 'twixt the twa kingdoms, and the union by the solemn league and covenant; and if any be an *incendiary* between the twa nations, how is he to be proceeded against? Now, the matter wherein we desire your opinions, is, what you tak the meaning of this word 'incendiary' to be; and whether Lieutenant-general Cromwell be not sike an incendiary, as is meant thereby; and whilke way wud be best to tak to proceed against him, if he be proved to be sicke an incendiary, and that will clepe his wings from soaring to the prejudice of our cause.

'Now you nay ken that, by our law in Scotland, we 'clepe him an incendiary, whay kindleth coals of contention, and raiseth differences, in the state, to the public damage; and he is *tanquam publicus hostis patriæ:* whether your law be the same or not, you ken best, who are mickle learned therein; and therefore, with the favour of His Excellence, we desire your judgements in these points.'

Whitelock replied, that 'the sense of the word incendiary was the same in England, as his Lordship had expressed it to be by the law of Scotland;' but that 'whether Lieutenant-general Cromwell was such an incendiary between the two kingdoms,' could not be known 'but by proofs of his particular words or ac-

tions, tending to the kindling of the fire of contention betwixt the two nations ;' and that if such proofs could 'be made out,' then he was 'to be proceeded against for it by Parliament, upon his being there accused of such things.' He added, that he took '*Lieutenant-general Cromwell to be a gentleman of quick and subtle parts, and one who had, especially of late, gained no small interest in the House of Commons: nor was he wanting of friends in the House of Peers; nor of abilities in himself, to manage his own part or defence to the best advantage.*' In conclusion, he could not 'advise that, at that time, he should be accused for an incendiary ; but rather that direction might be given to collect such passages relating to him, by which their Lordships might judge whether they would amount to prove him an incendiary or not.' Maynard, afterward speaking, observed that '*Lieutenant-general Cromwell was a person of great favour and interest with the House of Commons, and with some of the House of Peers likewise ;*' and that, therefore, 'there must be proofs, and the more clear and evident, against him, to prevail with the Parliament to adjudge him to be an incendiary ;' which he believed would 'be more difficult than perhaps some might imagine to fasten upon him.'

The delivery of these opinions appears to

have brought the plot to a stand-still : ' though Mr. Holles, and Sir Philip Stapylton, and some others, spake smartly to the business, and mentioned some particular passages and words of Cromwell's, tending to prove him to be an incendiary: and they did not apprehend his interest in the House of Commons to be so much as was supposed; and they would willingly have been upon the accusation of him.' The account of this remarkable conversation is concluded with Whitelock's belief, that some of the parties present were ' false brethren, and informed Cromwell of all that passed :' and he adds, that the latter, ' though he took no notice of any particular passages at that time, yet he seemed more kind to me and Mr. Maynard than formerly, and carried on his design more actively of making way for his own advancement.'

The last words, it is probable, had Whitelock written at instead of subsequently to the time of which he speaks, would not have been penned by him, at least as applicable to this particular era: in that case, the testimony of one other seeming convert to the opinion, that Cromwell sought his own advancement, and only that, in the line of conduct he now adopted, would have been spared posterity. Yet it is not meant to be asserted, that this conduct of his was not the effect of a deep-laid

design ; or that it was without any of that mixture, by this time perhaps become habitual to him, of over-acted solicitude for the general welfare, with real concern both for that and for his own. But it is contended, that the employment of his utmost arts would nearly find its excuse in the circumstances in which he was placed ; as well as that those arts were employed not, in this instance, to make way for his advancement, but simply to insure his safety. That so many have thought and affirmed the contrary, it is conceived has arisen from the circumstance, that the path he now pursued really did lead, in spite of all rational calculation, to that very temple of fortune he for once seemed most anxious to avoid ; and from the common disposition to suppose that every return of prosperity, accruing to a bold and successful man, must have been planned and foreseen by him while as yet in the womb of futurity.

There was little probability, perhaps, of the present accomplishment of the designs, discovered by Cromwell to have been formed against him, by his enemies in the army, members of the two Houses, in conjunction with the heads of the Scotish kirk and nation ; yet the danger could only expire with their influence upon the national affairs. Add to this, that whether his enemies should be successful or not,

the temporising policy they had adopted as to the war, was calculated, as has been seen, to bring ruin only to that party, who, with Hampden and himself, on first drawing the sword, had boldly thrown away the scabbard;—and it cannot be thought extraordinary, that he should endeavour to effect the removal from power of those, who would have removed, and, possibly, destroyed him; or that, in the attainment of such a purpose, he should seek his own security, the Parliament's, and what appeared to him the national good: pursuing those objects, in the existing emergency, with so little attention to his acknowledged usual chief aim, self-aggrandizement, as to become, in the sincerity of his heart, an example to propose its sacrifice, and the sacrifice of that of others, (his mortal enemies, be it remarked, included) in order to obtain them.

Accordingly, such precisely was his conduct, and such his probable motives; although Lord Clarendon, and Hume, in this and so many other instances his Lordship's echo, make little more than one sweeping charge, both against the Parliament and himself, of religious hypocrisy. The Commons, it appears from Rushworth, having voted themselves into a grand committee, to take into consideration 'the sad condition of the kingdom, in reference to its grievances by the burthen of the war, in case the

treaty of peace, which was then propounded, should not take effect, nor the war be effectually prosecuted'—'there was a general silence for a good space of time; many looking one upon the other, to see who would break the ice, and speak first, in so tender and sharp a point. When, at length, Lieutenant-general Cromwell stood up, and spoke to this effect:

'That it was now a time to speak, or for ever to hold the tongue; the important occasion being no less than to save a nation out of a bleeding, nay, almost dying condition, which the long continuance of the war had brought it into.

* * * *

'For what, (he continued) do the enemy say? nay, what do many say, that were friends at the beginning of the Parliament? Even this, that the members of both Houses have got great places, and commands, and the sword, into their hands; and, what by interest in the Parliament, and what by power in the Army, will perpetually continue themselves in grandeur, and not permit the war speedily to end, lest their own power should determine with it. This I speak here to our own faces, is but what others do utter abroad behind our backs. I am far from reflecting on any; I know the worth of those commanders, *members of both Houses, who are yet in power;* but if I may speak my conscience without reflection upon any, I do conceive, if the army be not put in another method, and the war more vigorously prosecuted, the people can bear this war no longer, and will enforce you to a dishonourable peace. But this I would recommend to your prudence, not to insist upon any complaint or oversight of any commander-in-chief, upon any occasion whatsoever; for, as I must acknowledge myself guilty of oversights, so I know they can rarely

be avoided in military affairs. Therefore, waving a strict inquiry into the *causes* of these things, let us apply ourselves to the *remedy* which is most necessary: and I hope we have such true English hearts, and zealous affections towards the general weal of our mother country, as no *members of either House* will scruple to deny themselves, and their own private interests, for the public good; nor account it to be dishonour to them, whatever the Parliament shall resolve upon in this weighty matter.

In this speech, all appears open, candid, and manly; the army disease is boldly, yet skilfully, probed to its seat, and a remedy far from distantly proposed. What the consequence was, is shewn by the journal of the day on which it was spoken; containing the following vote: 'Resolved, &c. That, during the time of this war, *no member of either house shall have, or execute, any office or command, military or civil*, granted or conferred by both or either of the Houses of Parliament, or any authority derived from both or either of the Houses: and that an ordinance be brought in accordingly.' This was on the 9th of December, 1644. Two days afterward, a solemn *fast* was agreed to be observed by the House, 'to humble themselves for their particular or parliamentary sins and failings, whereby they may hope to obtain God's blessing in a better measure upon their endeavours for the future.' On the 19th of the same month, the ordinance passed the Commons, and was sent up to the Lords, but was by the latter at first re-

jected. Finally, however, upon its again passing through the Commons, on the 3d of April ensuing, it obtained their concurrence also; but not till such of the military commanders as formed a part of their House—viz. the General-in-chief, (the Earl of Essex), and the Earls of Manchester and Denbigh—had voluntarily resigned their commissions. Meanwhile, another ordinance had been prepared, and also passed both Houses, for *new modelling* the army; by which, Sir Thomas Fairfax was appointed General-in-chief of all the forces, with power to nominate his officers, and to execute martial law.*

* Sir Thomas, it is plausibly supposed, owed this elevation (in great part) to the courage and conduct he had evinced in keeping in play the very superior forces of the Earl of Newcastle in the north, soon after the commencement of hostilities; at a time when the Parliament's troops were literally 'beaten at every hand,' those under this commander and his father, the Lord Fairfax, alone excepted. It cannot be imagined, however, that Sir Thomas would have been preferred to Cromwell for the chief command, had he not possessed the additional recommendation of *not* being a member of either House—the precise recommendation at which the Self-denying Ordinance had been aimed. Hume's endeavour to detract from Cromwell's military reputation, by noticing at his expence the superior rise of Fairfax, might therefore have been spared. Could the House, on acceding to Cromwell's own motion for divesting the members of all military command, have nominated *him* to be their new Commander-in-chief, who, simply *as* a member, was among the number of those directly purposed to be excluded?

His commission, it is observable, was made out in the name of the Parliament alone, and not in that of 'the King and Parliament,' as all previous commissions had been worded: neither was any mention made of the King's authority in the ordinance; nor any clause for the preservation of his person, as had been wished by the Lords, inserted. That the Upper House did not obtain their desire in this respect, sufficiently evinced the decline, and perhaps predicted the approaching fall, of their influence. It is not probable, however, as Hume appears to think, they could as yet suspect the increasing popular ebullition would subside only in the destruction both of monarchy and their parliamentary privileges; for, if they had, they would hardly have concurred at last in passing the 'Self-denying Ordinance;' and it has been seen that without their consent, (since without it, it had been once formally rejected,) it would not, as yet at least, have passed at all.

Be this as it may, the ordinance took effect; and Cromwell, not less than the rest of his compeers, prepared to take a final leave of the Army. To suppose otherwise than this, is to suppose that both Houses of Parliament were either the dupes or the accomplices of a single man: a supposition, by the way, which has been shown to be extremely unnecessary; since it was the part only of a man of ordinary

prudence, to sacrifice a military post, in order to secure such a similar sacrifice from his enemies, as should circumvent their plots against his life, and prevent their achieving his and the common destruction of his party, by the King's restoration to power. Numbers of the House, it is likely, were less sincere than Cromwell in this business; and some, doubtless, more so. Among the former might be all those, who, from envy of the military reputation of Cromwell, and the other officers, members of Parliament, might not be sorry to have an opportunity of reducing them to their former level with themselves; and with these, a pretended 'self-denying' act, accompanied with much shew of religious feeling, was in reality a mere political intrigue. Among the latter, were those few, who, led alone by their zeal and enthusiasm, cheerfully relinquished their lucrative employments, for the conceived good of their cause, without the apparent possibility of their receiving any compensatory advantages. But the conduct of the entire majority will very probably be considered disingenuous, at the least; since its object was to rid themselves of their army leaders by what was aptly termed 'a side-wind,' instead of openly exhibiting their charges against them, and making such the grounds of their dismissal; and it being evident that, throughout the whole affair, much

more was understood as to their common motive than was expressed. But, on the other hand again, it must be admitted, that as to produce a general charge against the leaders of the Army, (since it might have endangered the fidelity of the soldiers, who were much attached to several of them,) would have been highly inexpedient;—so, upon the whole, it may be questioned, whether in any thing but grave religious farce, the mere duplicity of the Parliament on this occasion, far outwent the statecraft employed by politicians in ordinary times.

CHAPTER V.

FROM THE SUSPENSION OF THE "SELF-DENYING ORDINANCE" IN CROMWELL'S FAVOUR, TO HIS JUNCTION WITH, AND AFTER SECESSION FROM, THE KING'S PARTY.

Cromwell appointed to the chief command of the Horse under Sir Thomas Fairfax—Battle of Naseby—Moral Characteristics of the opposed Armies—Discovery of the King's Insincerity—Continued Successes of Cromwell—His remarkable Escape at the Siege of Bristol—Farther Successes—Character of Fairfax, and the Parliament's liberality to him and Cromwell—Gloomy prospects of the King at the opening of the Year 1646—He surrenders himself to the Scotch Army—Divisions between the Parliament and the Scots—The latter deliver up the King to the Parliament—Situation of the Country—Desiderata of the Times—Cromwell's supposed Views—Consideration of some Charges brought against him—Seizure of the King by the Army—Cromwell's (and the Independents') Treaty with Charles—Altered tone, and increased violences, of the Army—Cromwell's danger, from his continued efforts in the King's favour—Perseverance in the same efforts, and intrepid conduct at Ware—Anecdote—The King's flight from Hampton Court—He arrives in the Isle of Wight—Reluctant change in Cromwell's Policy.

And now arrived the crisis, on which, though unforeseen by him, the whole future fortunes of Cromwell were to turn. On coming to Windsor, from Salisbury, to bid farewell to Sir Tho-

mas Fairfax, the new General-in-chief, as the ordinance was to take effect in a few days, a letter reached Sir Thomas, from the Committee of the Parliament, recommending him to employ the Lieutenant-general in the command of some horse, to be dispatched toward Worcester, to prevent an intended junction of a part of the King's army with another body under the command of Prince Rupert. This service Cromwell accordingly performed; besides beating the enemy at Islip-bridge, and afterward reducing Blechingdon House, &c. These successes, (by which he effectually crippled the royal forces in that quarter where fortune had of late seemed most to smile on them,) and the way in which he was following up every advantage he obtained, induced the two Houses, as appears by their journals, to enjoin, (May 11, 1645) that 'whereas Lieutenant-general Cromwell is now in the actual service of the Parliament, and in prosecution of the enemy—that he shall continue in the employment he is now in, for forty days longer, notwithstanding the late ordinance, &c.' On the 10th of June following, the same journals say: 'A letter from Sir Thomas Fairfax, and divers of the chief officers of his army, from Sherington, of June the 8th, desiring that Lieutenant-general Cromwell might command the horse in chief, in Sir Thomas Fairfax his army, was this day read.

Resolved, upon the question: that Sir Thomas Fairfax be desired (if he think fit) to appoint Lieutenant-General Cromwell to command the horse under Sir Thomas Fairfax as Lieutenant-General, during such time as the House shall please to dispense with his attendance;' &c. These votes appearing to have passed unanimously, is in itself no insufficient proof, that the Parliament were without suspicion of a preconcerted design to suspend the ordinance in favour of Cromwell. And when it is recollected, that the entire Presbyterian interest, which was very strong in the Commons, was opposed to him, and would have been sufficiently ready to suspect any thing, for which there was the slightest ground of probability, to his prejudice, the rational conclusion is, that his importance to the well-being and success of the army had become so manifest to men of every party, as alone to have given occasion to the concurrence of all in the measure of exception pursued. The application to the House, from the General-in-chief and principal officers in council of war, for his continuance with them, speaks volumes in praise of his previous military conduct. A general engagement with the King's troops was very shortly expected; and it would seem that the whole army were fully possessed with the opinion, that, to ensure themselves the vic-

tory, it was above all things necessary to retain the services of Cromwell.

Upon receipt of the Parliament's resolution, Sir Thomas Fairfax dispatched a letter to the Lieutenant-general, *(i)* desiring him to join the main body of the army without delay; which he did, with six hundred cavalry, on the 13th of June, or perhaps the day previously. On the 14th, took place the decisive battle of Naseby; a battle, in which the King and the kingdom were lost, says Lord Clarendon; the royal party being never afterward able to make effectual head against their opponents. Our description of this battle, shall be collected chiefly from the details given by a dispassionate contemporary.

The King in person commanded the main body of his army, Prince Rupert the right wing, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale the left. On the Parliament's side, Generals Fairfax and Skippon commanded the main body, Cromwell the right wing, and Ireton the left. The engagement commenced by a gallant charge made by Prince Rupert upon the body under Ireton; which, after a determined resistance, was at last obliged to give way, its leader being run through the thigh with a pike, wounded in the face by a halbert, his horse shot under him, and himself finally made a prisoner. Elated by this success, Prince Rupert led the chase of the

Parliament's discomfited left wing, nearly to the town of Naseby; but, on his return, instead of following up his advantage by re-mixing in the general conflict, he allowed his men to fall to plundering the baggage at some distance in the rear. Meantime, the main bodies had charged mutually, and with extraordinary resolution and fierceness; often retreating, and again rallying; falling to a hand-to-hand conflict with their swords, and assailing each other with the butt-ends of their muskets. While Cromwell, who had been as alert on his side as Prince Rupert on the opposite, had attacked the King's left wing nearly at the same moment; broken it, and was now engaged with the first line of the reserve. This he also put to the rout; and, with the rapidity of lightning, fell upon the second line: in conclusion, 'with fine force,' he 'quite charged through those three bodies,' and beat them irrevocably from the ground. Returning with equal speed, he came in with his victorious right wing, and charged the royalists simultaneously with Fairfax and Skippon. When the King, 'unable to endure any longer,' was forced to 'get out of the field towards Leicester;' while Prince Rupert, reappearing in time only to witness his Majesty's most signal overthrow, accompanied him in his flight, leaving a complete victory to the Parliamentarians.—And thus, by a few simple yet

masterly evolutions of Cromwell, was gained the all-important battle of Naseby. *(k)* The Lieutenant-general, now but naturally, 'began to increase in the favour of the people and of the army, and to grow great, even to the envy of many.'*

Unmoved by this envy, and uncorrupted by this greatness, he henceforth employed his whole authority in promoting the good of the cause to which he was so zealously attached. All thoughts of applying the principle of the Self-denying Ordinance to his military post, were now, from their evident ill tendency to the Parliament's success, abandoned. And, deriving from his Lieutenant-generalship powers fully equal to those which had formerly been exercised by the Earl of Manchester, and, both from his military and religious character, an influence superior to that possessed by the General-in-chief himself, he went on to devote every faculty to the reformation of the army upon that *model*, of which his own little troop at the commencement of the war was become the prototype. By his exertions, (essentially aided, it is but justice to say, by those of Sir Thomas Fairfax,) it became matter of admiration to all, that the crying sins of the military—'the profaneness and impiety, and absence of all religion, drink-

* Whitelock.

ing, gaming, and all manner of licence and laziness,'—upon which he had so severely commented in the House, when introducing the subject of the new ordinances, should so speedily disappear. And the change was the more remarkable, as it was contrasted not only with the army's former state, but with the continued impiety, dissoluteness, and every disorderly habit, of the King's forces. In which latter, it had besides become apparent, that the absence of all fortitude in the field, was the concomitant of confirmed irregularity of life: and their only military virtue, desperation in the charge, was now fully seen to wage an unequal conflict with that quality, derived from religious confidence, in the Parliament's troops, by which *they* were enabled to rally even after they had been beaten, and to gain victories after they had been driven, in appearance, to total and irreclaimable rout.

Among the baggage seized by the Parliament's troops, upon the termination of the fight at Naseby, was the King's private cabinet; in which was found his correspondence with the Queen, including several letters written while the treaty of Uxbridge had been pending. From these it appeared, that the Parliament having demanded to be acknowledged as such, and that as an indispensable preliminary to negociation, Charles, after much indecision of mind, had been capable of making the acknow-

ledgment required, but at the same time of secretly recording, with the approbation of his council, that the acknowledgment was invalid. Hume speaks of this insincerity as a very light matter: yet it is evident, that had the King regained his power, he might, by such a secret reservation, have felt himself justified in treating those as 'rebels,' whom to his Queen he styled such, though to their faces he called them a Parliament. All these letters were afterward openly read in the House; to the full conviction of the members, and their adherents, that no terms to which the King might bind himself, would be observed by him on their allowing him to resume the reins of government. This conclusion might not be warranted, however, in its extent: Charles never, perhaps, resigned the wish to retain his power of doing right or wrong as he should judge proper; but he seldom formed a predetermined intention of acting unlawfully, or against his engagements. These very passages in his letters even, are couched so much like *apologies* to his Queen, (to whom he was attached to actual weakness), for the concessions he states himself to have made, as to give ground for suspecting that he had an eye principally to her satisfaction, in contriving his escape by the entry he mentions in the council-book.

From this period, the royal cause daily be-

came more hopeless. The Parliament's army, animated by their late signal triumph, soon began to overspread the kingdom; and, like a torrent, bore down all before them. Leicester, which the King, (for a moment swimming upon a side-current of prosperity,) had lately taken, was immediately regained: Taunton, which had been closely besieged by the brave though profligate Lord Goring, and defended by the valiant Blake, was relieved: Lord Goring himself was beaten, and pursued almost to Bridgewater. In this latter action, the prudence of Cromwell was particularly conspicuous. An advanced party of horse, regardless of consequences, was on the point of charging the enemy: he checked them, until the whole of the cavalry had come up: when, putting himself at their head, he attacked the royalists with such vigour and success, that nearly their whole body of foot became his prisoners, while he captured also the greater part of their ordnance.—Bridgewater, which was very strongly garrisoned, was directly afterward taken by storm.

The Lieutenant-general then directed his attention to the *Club-Men*, a kind of third army, which had started up in the western counties, ostensibly to defend themselves and the country from the rapine and violence of the royalists; but whose operations, while they became formidable to both parties, were in reality as op-

pressive to the peacefully disposed, as had been those of the cavaliers themselves. By an union of moderation and firmness, Cromwell disarmed and dispersed these men, and put a period to their ill conduct. Sherburn Castle was next reduced: and immediately after, we find the Lieutenant-general before Bristol, in company with Fairfax, whom he advised to storm a place of such importance, if other methods were not of speedy avail. Prince Rupert, who held it with about 5000 horse and foot, had declared that nothing should induce him to surrender, unless the inhabitants proved disaffected, as was apprehended: but, Cromwell's counsel being followed, the attack was made with so much fury, that, though the Prince repelled it for a while, he feared to run the hazard of a second assault, and delivered up the city, and with it a large proportion of the King's magazines and warlike stores. A very singular escape was allotted to both the General and Lieutenant-general, during the parley which ended in the capitulation of the royalists. They were sitting together on the top of Prior's Hill Fort, (which had been taken in the storming attempt), when a piece of ordnance in the Castle being fired at that point, the ball grazed the fort within two hands breadth of them, without doing the slightest injury to either. It is not wonderful, that so apparently miraculous

a preservation, should unite with other instances of the same nature to seal enthusiasm for ever upon the piety of Cromwell; and accordingly he is said to have declared, that none but an atheist could doubt that the capture of a place, attended with circumstances so extraordinary, was the work of the Lord. In a similar strain, he writes to the Speaker:—"It may be thought some praises are due to these gallant men, of whose valour so much mention is made: their humble suit to you, and all that have an interest in this blessing, is, that, in remembrance of God's praises, they may be forgotten. It's their joy, that they are instruments to God's glory, and their country's good. It's their honour, that God vouchsafes to use them. Sir, they that have been employed in this service, know that faith and prayer obtained this city for you."

From Bristol, with a brigade of four regiments, Cromwell flew to the Devizes, and summoned the castle. This fortress was so strong, that Sir Charles Lloyd, the governor, returned no other answer than—'*Win it, and wear it:*'—notwithstanding which, Cromwell speedily took the place by assault, but displayed the utmost clemency and moderation toward the garrison. He next stormed Berkely castle. Shortly afterward, Winchester surrendered to him by capitulation; and he was so strict in exacting

compliance from his own army with its articles, as, when information was laid before him by the vanquished, that some of his soldiers had plundered them on leaving the city, contrary to the terms granted them, he ordered the offenders to be tried by court-martial, at which they were sentenced to death. Whereupon, he directed the unfortunate men, who were six in number, to cast lots for the first sufferer; and, after his execution, sent the remaining five, with a suitable explanation of the matter, to Sir Thomas Glenham, Governor of Oxford, requesting him to deal with them as he thought fit: a piece of conduct, which so charmed that royalist commandant, that he immediately returned the men to Cromwell, with a handsome compliment to the Lieutenant-general's precise regard to his military engagements. Basing-House, the seat of the Marquis of Winchester, one of the castellated mansions of those days, and which had been thought impregnable, having been previously assaulted in vain by Colonels Norton and Harvey and Sir William Waller, was next stormed by this fortunate general, 'who never failed in any enterprize he undertook,' and the Marquis himself made a prisoner: an event, which afforded Cromwell another opportunity, that he did not neglect, of behaving with mildness and liberality to his subdued enemies.

Still pushing his career of victory, Langford House, near Salisbury, now surrendered to him at the first summons. Posting then beyond Exeter, he fought Lord Wentworth at Bovey-Tracy, and took from him 500 prisoners, horse and foot, with six standards, of which one was the King's. Next, uniting with Fairfax, they in conjunction took Dartmouth by storm: and defeated Lord Hopton, after a very gallant resistance, at Torrington. Whence pursuing the last remains of a royal army into Cornwall, mutiny and licentiousness did for these the work of the victorious Parliamentarians; their commander being obliged to break them up, with the exception of a few who retired with him into Pendinnis Castle. Prince Charles, from whom Lord Hopton's forlorn charge had been delegated, had previously fled for safety, with several noblemen of his party, to the Isles of Scilly. At length, Lord Astley also being defeated and made a prisoner, there remained not an enemy to the Parliament in the open field: of which Astley was so sensible, that he said to his captors: 'You have done your work, and may now go to play; unless (but how prophetical was the reservation!) *you choose to fall out among yourselves.*' Soon after, Exeter having already surrendered, Cromwell came to London, took his seat in

Parliament, and received 'the hearty thanks of the house for his great and many services.'

From thanks, the Parliament proceeded to evince a disposition more substantially to appreciate the services of the military commanders, to whom they were so much indebted: a committee being shortly after directed to enter into the consideration of how the sums of £5000. per annum to General Fairfax, and £2500. per annum to Lieutenant-general Cromwell, both before voted, might be settled upon them and their heirs. At the same time, £1000. 'to purchase horses and furniture,' were ordered by the House to the former, and £500, for the same purpose, to the latter. *(l.)* Votes these, that, had it been politic to consider the merits of the two officers, rather than their rank, would probably have been reversed; for Cromwell was by every one acknowledged to be the soul of the Parliament's army, though Fairfax was its nominal head. The General, fortunately for the ambition of his next in command, was blest, together with many military virtues, with much integrity and simplicity of heart. He, therefore, so long as the army was directed in his name, was little conscious how greatly it was, through his own instrumentality, guided by the influence Cromwell had obtained over himself, as well as every individual soldier: nei-

ther did he appear to have any feeling of the universal ascription of superior talent to his aspiring subaltern. His piety was sincere and vital; and kept him humble, and unchanged by his successes: his judgment was strong, and clear, but confined: his courage, as it was the result of animal fierceness rather than of mental energy, partook of a degree of brutality, that affected his general demeanour, and indeed was but too visible in the usual manners of his times. Perhaps a knowledge of those deficiencies and good qualities, of which his character was compounded, was a principal inducement with the Parliament to invest him, rather than another, with powers so ample, as it was judged necessary, upon the new model, to give to their commander-in-chief. They thought, possibly, that such a man would best retain his sense of subordination to themselves: they judged rightly: their sagacity was never more apparent, than in their choice of Fairfax as an apt tool to a popular assembly. Yet, after all, by divesting the peers—which had been one of their chief aims—of all command in the army, to create an almost unlimited military authority for a commoner, they were found, so soon as this authority reverted to other hands, to have outwitted themselves. Fairfax, an unambitious instrument, was a main support to their House; Cromwell, in

the same office, tumbled its every pillar from the foundation ; and soon made it apparent, that the chieftain of their own making might become as supremely dominant within doors, as they had rendered him without.

And now the King, ' perceiving (Ludlow too harshly says) judgement to be given against him by that Power, to which both parties had made their solemn appeal,' and thinking it ' advisable to make use of the fox's skin, and for a time to lay aside that of the lion,' made farther proposals of peace to the two Houses ; but the business ended in propositions, replies, and rejoinders, on both sides. Taking advantage of the occasion, however, as a farther opportunity of shewing their gratitude to Cromwell, the Commons ' Resolved, that the title and dignity of a *Baron* of the kingdom of England, with all rights, &c. to the said title and dignity belonging, be conferred and settled on Lieutenant-general Oliver Cromwell, and the heirs males of his body : and that his Majesty be desired, in these propositions, to grant and confer the said title upon him, and the heirs male of his body, accordingly,' &c. Still then, it hence appears, titles of honour were considered a fit reward of public services ; and still was *the King* acknowledged as the fountain of honour, whence alone such rewards could legitimately spring : opinions both, which, so long as human

nature remains what it is, with all its sensibilities to renown and disgrace, and with all its inherent tendencies to gradation in its constituted societies, will be among the efficient preservatives of their security and happiness. At a future period, this measure appears to have furnished a hint for Cromwell in his dealings with his sovereign, as will be seen.

At the commencement of the year 1646, Newark and Oxford were the only places of any consequence, that still held out for the royal cause: and the former of these was already closely besieged by an united English and Scotch army; and the latter, where the King resided, must of course have expected to be pressed upon its fall. In these unhappy circumstances, the perplexed monarch at first offered to come to Westminster in person for forty days, upon a safe-conduct from the two Parliamentary commanders who were distantly blockading Oxford, in order to negociate a treaty with their employers. But the offer was refused; from a suspicion, not ill-grounded, that Charles merely wished to gain time for his friends to convert some fortunate occurrence, that might meanwhile take place, to his advantage; and not less from an apprehension, that the affections of the populace might revive at the sight of his person, and possibly oblige the Parliament to relinquish that high ground

which their pretensions now occupied, thus depriving them of the most valued fruits of their successful contest. At this moment, had he been capable of throwing himself unreservedly into the arms of his people—had he appeared openly in London, and claimed the general protection of his subjects, against the men whose hostility appeared unabated by their triumph—a step the Parliament seem actually to have dreaded, by their ordering all the avenues of the metropolis to be guarded against his private entry—a generous pity might have united with returning loyalty, to secure him the possession of a throne, whose real splendour would not have been diminished by the temperate restriction of its future powers. But, instead of so acting, he adopted a resolution, which, like those he generally formed, became of little eventual service to him, because seen to be the offspring of his necessities instead of his free-will. In a letter he now addressed to the Marquis of Ormond, Charles stated that, having obtained either no answer from the Houses to his several messages, or such alone as argued that nothing would satisfy them but the ruin, not only of himself, his posterity, and friends, but of monarchy itself;—but having received very good security, that he, and all that adhered to him, should be safe in their persons, honour, and consciences, in the Scots army;—

he had resolved to put himself to the hazard of passing over to them where they lay, namely, before Newark. Accordingly, on May 5th, he arrived privately, and in disguise, at the head-quarters of the Scotch army; accompanied only by a Mr. Ashburnham, and another humble friend. The Scots immediately acquainted the English commissioners residing with them of this extraordinary event; and the commissioners made all haste to inform their masters, the Parliament. The King then ordered the governor of Newark to submit to the Scotch General, Leven. Oxford surrendered to Fairfax by a capitulation; the principal articles of which were, that the Duke of York should be granted a suitable convoy from that city to London, where the King's other children resided, and honourable provision made for him and them, there; that the Princes Rupert and Maurice, with all the King's chief friends, then in Oxford, should have liberty to retire to the continent; and that all the privileges, immunities, and possessions of the University should be preserved to it entire.

Between the Scots army and the Parliament, jealousies and divisions, it must here he observed, had for some time grown. The Scots found, that the less their services were required, the less also were they valued; the progress of Independency in the English nation gave them

alarm; and they were horror-stricken at the daily diminishing consequences attached in England to their venerated Covenant. Another subject of offence to them, had been the refusal of the Parliament to sanction that vote of the Assembly of Divines, by which, in imitation of monarchical folly in political matters, presbyterianism was declared to be of *divine right*. Contemporary writers even say, that, at the very time the Scotch were besieging Newark, it was impossible for the Parliament, or for the English troops who assisted in the siege, fully to determine whether they ought to be considered in the light of friends or impending enemies: nay, Mrs. Hutchinson asserts, that the Parliament 'had *certeine evidences* that they were prepar'd, and had an intent, to have cut off the English armie who beleaguer'd Newark.' A knowledge of these circumstances, doubtless, had much weight with the King, in inducing him to throw himself upon the protection of the Scots, rather than the mercy of the Parliament; but, in the end, he was miserably deceived. At first, indeed, the Scots made a shew of separating their cause from that of the English army, by retiring northward to Newcastle; a step that greatly tended to the subsequent war between the two countries. But the Houses, having by this time become not a little anxious to be rid of their northern friends, and

to obtain from them the custody of the King's person, had now repeated altercations with their commissioners on these subjects : and the result of the whole was, 'a meer money business,' as Dugdale says—viz. a contract between the parties, that, upon the receipt of two hundred thousand pounds, voted under colour of *arrears of pay*, from the Parliament, together with a promise of as much more, the Scots should commence their march toward their own country, and leave the King in the hands of his enemies. No actual mention of the person of his Majesty, was made in the articles thus concluded between the two nations ; but the commissioners on both sides sufficiently understood the intentions of their employers, and acted accordingly. The Lords then voted that the King might reside at Newmarket ; but the Commons agreed that Holmby House, situate on his own manor of Holmby in Northamptonshire, would be the fitter place : and the Lower House, as was become usual with them, carried the matter their own way.

Singular indeed was the spectacle now presented by England to foreigners, and to all who were capable of reflecting among Englishmen themselves. The King, the legal head of the government, and the source whence the power of its other existing branches had been originally derived, was a captive to the autho-

rity he had created: the Peers, hourly sinking into insignificance, maintained only a feeble appearance of yet forming a legislative, and still less, as they had assumed to be, an executive order, in the state—by conceding in all things to the pleasure of the Lower House: the Commons united in themselves all power, legislative and executive, and ordered all according to their sovereign will. In ecclesiastical matters, the same men, who had vindicated the universal privilege of liberty of conscience, by exposing their lives for its preservation, had long become in their turn the persecutors of all, who, with any difference in their religious opinions, asserted the same right: a convincing proof, if any had been needed, that bigotry, intolerance, and persecution, are no more inherent in popery, or prelacy, than in the bosoms of all, who permit their passions to direct them in their choice or defence of a religious sect; the persecuting spirit being a common infirmity of our nature, and not confined to the over-zealous in points of discipline or doctrine of any denomination or party.

It was utterly impossible that such a state of things should continue in a country, all whose previous laws and institutions tended toward the monarchical power, legally vested in some one person as a common centre: and among the first to perceive this, undoubtedly, was

Cromwell; sharpened as his perceptions probably were, by seeing his old enemies, the Presbyterians, wielding the whole authority in church and state, and absolutely ruling over the King, the Parliament, and the purses and consciences of the people. Under their influence, it was besides tolerably evident, that the Parliament would, if permitted, perpetuate themselves. But *the Army*, the sole remaining source of Cromwell's influence (being mainly of the Independent party,) after being first weakened by large intended draughts for the Irish service, were to be disbanded; although the soldiers could obtain only a promise of debentures, or securities upon the excise, in lieu of their arrears. On the other hand, it was true, that the Army had of late manifested a tone, particularly in their *petitions*, of themselves implying their having assumed a *deliberative* function, which (upon abstract principles) it became a wise government promptly to repress. Yet much again might be urged in defence of the language and conduct of the military at that period. They had achieved all for the Parliament; while the Parliament withheld the just remuneration for their services, and seemed to slight them, as they had done even their Presbyterian friends, the Scots, as instruments for which they had no farther occasion. The objects for which they petitioned, also, as stated

by Rushworth, were such as evinced more enlarged views, and a correcter judgment, of the political desiderata of *those past times*, than perhaps could have been expected from them. They desired—" the duration of Parliaments to be limited; *elections better regulated;* the *representation better distributed; improper privileges*, and particularly that of being *screened from creditors*, given up; not bishops, but their coercive power, and civil penalties, taken away; the King restored to his rights, (but with some restrictions, to last ten years); *the laws simplified, and lessened in expence; monopolies set aside; tithes commuted*," &c. *(m)* But all this was interrupted by the domineering (Presbyterian) party. This dominancy, and the slights and injuries alluded to, the soldiers, who, beyond all others in the nation it might be, burned with the spirit that had so successfully combated the principle of 'passive obedience and non-resistance,' were determined to counterwork; especially since the measures of the Parliament themselves had begun to offer so much to public reprobation, as regarded their proper and peculiar affairs. Under the then aspect of things, therefore, it probably appeared to Cromwell, that it would be to the national advantage, and to his own security, if the King, humbled by his present situation, would be content to resume his power on the terms of mode-

rated prerogative and episcopacy; and, feeling the important rank he now occupied in the councils and service of his country, he could not deem the idea extravagant, of becoming himself the instrument to replace Charles upon his throne. And that he should form such a plan, in connection only with a personal view to the highest dignities, wealth, and power, that could be possessed by a subject, ought to surprise none, who will reflect, that had not Monk been bribed by offers of a dukedom, a princely revenue, and the garter, the restoration of the second Charles might never have taken place.—But Cromwell, it is said, aspired only to the honors borne, with others, by the founder of his family's name and greatness, the Earl of Essex: viz. to receive that title, to be declared vicar-general of the kingdom, decorated with the garter, and, in addition, to be made first captain of the royal guards. Whether or not he really formed such views, or whether, without having formed them, offers to this extent (which has been asserted) were made him by the captive King, cannot now with certainty be known; but neither can the supposition, as to either party, be thought improbable. That he entered into a treaty with Charles, (and such a treaty, so far as it related to the monarch, could have but one object,) admits of proof.

To succeed in an enterprise of so much magni-

tude, it was necessary to make common cause, and that as expeditiously as possible, both with the King and the troops. For the latter, he might perceive, were not unlikely in the end to become masters of the Parliament; and that, therefore, it became of greater importance, as it was certainly an easier task, to bring the army and the monarch to a timely coalition, than to reconcile Charles with that assembly, the majority of whom, as Presbyterians, were his own secret enemies not less than the King's most bigoted opponents, although their power was now upon the wane. But it was of primary consequence, to intimidate the Houses from their resolution of disbanding, or drafting to Ireland, any considerable number of the forces: and one way to effect that object, would be secretly to foment the mutinous heats among the soldiers, (and in this, it is believed, his son-in-law, Ireton, proved his most able coadjutor,) while, in caution, he should not be wanting in sufficient expressions of affection to the Parliament, whom, it is even said, he repeatedly assured of his determination to stand by, if need were, to the utmost extremity. It is not meant to be advanced, that the mind of Cromwell entertained all at once such various plans;—all mankind are too much the creatures of circumstances as they occur, to admit of pre-determination as to the different prospective parts of

their conduct, in furtherance of the projects they may have formed;—but events sufficiently proved that he pursued them in detail. His public duplicity, so long as he took part in the military agitations to which alone he could look for success, perhaps for safety, and yet, to avoid suspicion, appeared almost daily in the Commons' House—though not in strictness excusable—was essential to the prosecution of his purposes, for it was required to prevent his sudden commitment by his parliamentary colleagues; which, in the end, we have authority to believe, he evaded only by a wary retreat to his companions in arms. Indeed, the duplicity of Cromwell, up to this period, was simply such as a man of more than common prudence and sagacity must almost naturally have been tempted to exercise, in the very singular and trying circumstances in which he was so frequently placed. It was a duplicity, as painful to his own feelings, as foreign to the generally religious tone of his character; and which, therefore, he had not as yet learned to adopt, upon any other grounds than those of the strongest apparent necessity.

The ferment in the army was at first attended with as signal success as could be desired, either by Cromwell, for the advancement of his private views, or by the other leaders of the Independents, for that of the general objects of their party. Among its other results, was a kind of

military Parliament: the constituent parts of which were, a representative, composed of a certain number of private soldiers, or inferior officers, who were called *Agitators;* and a *Council* of superior officers, in imitation of the House of Peers. The Parliament, who had at first passed a severe vote of censure upon the Army for assuming the office of *petitioners*, becoming considerably alarmed at the establishment and operations of this *rival* deliberative assembly, adopted a new policy; rescinding that vote, ordering it to be erased from their journals, and formally declaring that the troops should be paid their full arrears. Here, Whitelock truly observes, "the Parliament began to surrender themselves and their power into the hands of their own army;" who, however, were yet neither satisfied with the scanty performance of the pecuniary promises of the House, nor with the more scanty measure of freedom it condescended to allot that good people of England, whom it had at first spoken so fairly, and at last ruled so tyrannically. In one of their now frequent addresses to their masters, they frankly told them, "they did not look upon themselves as a band of janizaries, hired only to fight the battles of the Parliament: they had voluntarily taken up arms for the liberty of the nation of which they were a part; and before they laid those arms down,

they would see that end well provided for." Uncertain to what events such violence would tend, and perhaps really displeased that the men, whose moderate resistance to the arbitrary designs of their employers he had been willing to countenance, should affect to claim a species of direct controul over the assembly, to the proper exercise of whose powers, he, as one of its members, could not but be well-disposed—it is very probable that Cromwell, when the Army began at length to use even stronger language, temporarily changed his policy, and supported the House, as is asserted by his enemies, in ordering the most refractory leaders of the troops into confinement. He is even said to have added *tears* to his expressions of indignation against the military;—but this may be the exaggeration of one who is proved to have related falsehoods to his prejudice;—and to have complained that designs had been formed against his own life—which indeed was not unlikely; for, in the violent temper in which the soldiers now were, nothing probably would incense them more, than to see the man upon whom they had at first good reason to reckon as a partisan of their own, daily taking up stronger ground against their pretensions. Whatever appearances of double-dealing there were in Cromwell's prior conduct, relative to these disputes—though it possibly amounted to little more than

holding the balances temperately between both parties, and alternately praising and blaming, checking and supporting, each as it might seem to him to deserve—there was surely less hypocrisy than courage, in openly advising the Parliament to strong measures against his field associates; since that advice was so likely to subject him to their dangerous resentment. But Ludlow tells us, Cromwell had previously said to him, that 'it was a miserable thing to serve a Parliament, to whom let a man be never so faithful, if one pragmatical fellow amongst them rise up and asperse him, he shall never wipe it off.' Very possibly he did so say, in confidence, to a military man and supposed friend, at the *earlier* period, when the aims of the Parliament had seemed opposed to the interests of nearly every individual in that gallant army, whom, instead of rewarding for effecting their own salvation, they had by the meanest methods begun to oppress;—and what more natural than this? And during the very discussion of these retaliatory measures on the part of the Parliament, it appears he whispered Ludlow, 'these men will never leave till the army pull them out by the ears.'—But might not these words have been a comment upon the red-hot speech of some violent Presbyterian, whose angry precipitation was more calculated at once to bring the question between the op-

posed parties to the decision of force, than to secure that wholesome punishment of the too violent on the other side, which the dignity and very being of the Parliament would seem to require? As Ludlow does not say what was the precise occasion of these speeches, we are at liberty to take such views of the information he affords. And it is strongly in favour of Cromwell, that this staunch republican himself does not appear to have had the least suspicion of any sinister views in his colleague *at the time;* but only to have heaped together all that he could recollect, to the disadvantage of the man he had since learned so perfectly to hate, in his after years of mortified ambition and exile.

As it so frequently happens, however, to men, whose moderation leads them to endeavour to avoid the extremes of political contention, but a regard to whose preservation or interests renders it next to impossible that they should not have plans of their own to compass, and still less that they should sit silent and inactive spectators of daily events, Cromwell was at last compelled by the violence of others, more openly to choose a side. And, when things were actually come to such a pass, he did not hesitate a moment to throw himself into the arms of his military colleagues, and into the bosom of the sect, to which by sincere principle he was attached. An immediate rupture was ex-

pected between the Parliament and Army: in anticipation of the consequences of which, Hollis asserts that the Lieutenant-General, with several others of the Independents, had already privately removed their effects from London. It was in these moments of alarm, that the Presbyterians, whose strength in the House was sufficient to carry any measure *there* which they proposed to themselves, and who, as they well knew the encouragement Cromwell had given to the earlier complaints of the Army, were not without suspicion that he was still their secret supporter, resolved to commit him to the Tower—a step that has been once alluded to: and now it was, that, having private information of this design, he quitted the city for his quarters, on the very morning that his arrest was to have been moved for on his appearing in his place. Still, not farther to commit himself than was absolutely necessary, with such artful foes, he had the address to write to the House; and, without taking notice of his discovery of what had been intended against him, to inform them, that his presence among the soldiers was required to disabuse them of much misinformation they had received respecting the designs of their employers, (which was very probably the truth); and he farther requested, that the General might be sent to aid him in the good work.—And who does not see,

even in this cool after-stroke, the mere provision made by calculating upon all possible events, since it was impossible as yet to be certain that the Parliament would not ultimately gain the ascendant? Or, taking his whole conduct since the termination of the war into consideration, is it not clear, that he only plotted in the midst of plots?—and that, while the plots of his enemies were alone for power, his were for the freedom he had so well contributed to win, for the well-being of the most generous of religious sects, for the personal security of himself and friends, and, (for the crown of all), the restoration of the monarch to all the powers he could hereafter wield with benefit to himself and the subject?

The explosion expected from the Army, by numbers attached to both the rival sects, took place, but in a direction contrary to that anticipated. On the 4th of June, (1647), a ruffianly cornet of horse, named Joyce, appeared at midnight, with a few followers, at Holmby House; and, producing a pistol as his authority, compelled the King to accompany him to his fellow-soldiers, now encamped on Triplow Heath, Cambridgeshire. It has been much and often questioned, who were the instigators to this extraordinary act. The subsequent elevation of Cromwell, and the aspersions which that elevation entailed upon his memory, from

the period of the return of the Stuarts, sufficiently account for the general ascription to his agency of a deed, the real authors of which are still involved in some mystery. But there are several considerations, that should induce us greatly to hesitate in believing that the Lieutenant-general was actually concerned in the King's removal from Holmby; even though we should admit, that he very possibly might so indirectly convey his *sanction* of a measure, that must be presumed to have been in perfect accordance with his wishes, as, whatever were the event, to secure himself from responsibility. In the first place, so flagrant an assumption of authority over the King's person, in contempt and defiance of the Parliament, as it was contrary to the moderation of conduct by which he was almost uniformly distinguished up to a period much later than that under notice, so was it an undertaking as much beyond the probable as the prudent daring of any single man. Secondly, all the writers of that age, with the exception of such as are indisputably Cromwell's slanderers in a variety of other instances, agree in representing the King's removal to have been the general act of the Army, by their representatives, the *Agitators*, of whom Joyce, it must be remarked, was one. Again: from the time that he had begun openly to reprehend the violences of the soldiery in the House,

Cromwell appears, from his own words, to have been so far from consulted by them, that he had incurred some degree of peril from their regarding him as an obstacle, not an auxiliary, to their views. And, lastly, though it should be true that he reached the camp (as some have said) on the very eve of Joyce's execution of his enterprise, it was at least as likely that the immediate instigators of that rude emissary —both from their recollection of his recent tone in Parliament, and the confidence they would naturally entertain of his ignorance of a design, which his language in the House would alone have prevented their entrusting him with—should still endeavour to conceal it from him, as that they should now unnecessarily communicate it.

Still, since there can be little doubt that he had all along kept up a confidential correspondence with such officers of the military *Council*, as agreed with him in the temperance of their views;—and since the Council, though in general perhaps not actively implicated with the Agitators, must be supposed, from the little surprise they manifested at the King's sudden appearance among them, as well as from their after unwillingness to sift the occasion of his coming, to have been not altogether ignorant of the matter in hand;—it does seem probable, that Cromwell both knew that the measure was

contemplated, and, (seeing how calculated it was to advance the projects he had formed,) so far countenanced, as to take no steps to prevent, what he trusted to the violence of its planners to execute in their own time. Allowing, therefore, that he had knowledge of the Agitators' views, though not of the moment when they were to be put in practice, it will appear an instance of the singular good fortune that attended him through life, that the Parliament should force him from among them at the precise moment, when his absence from the House, and his presence with the King and Army in conjunction, were so adapted to the furtherance of his purposes—but it will appear no more. And, granting even that he knew both of the plot, and the period intended for its completion, the circumstances that have been mentioned still go far to prove that he had not the actual direction of either.

Perhaps there was scarcely a person in the Army, who felt astonishment at the boldness of Joyce, or thought it necessary to enquire who were the authors of a scheme, the executor of which they were all ready to support with their lives, their brave, well-meaning General-in-chief excepted. Equally disconcerted with the Parliament, Fairfax, in the simplicity of his heart, proposed to try the Cornet by court-martial; but the officers so coldly supported

him in the design, that he was obliged to relinquish it. As to the King, being also in the extremity of amazement, he could not at any rate except the perplexed General from a share in the transaction; so persuaded was he, that Joyce would not have attempted such a thing "without the countenance of *greater* persons." Alas! Charles perished on a scaffold, because never, in any instance, till too late, could he conceive of power, as separated from rank and legal authority; nor form a notion of that mighty though silent principle, eternal in the multitude, which, rivetting their minds each to the other by a sympathetic chain, the links of which are imperceivable even by themselves, unites them as one man, to resist oppression—to succour the innocent distressed—or, in fact, to achieve any purpose, (good or bad, though far from so frequently the latter as the former), which appears to them expedient, and adapted by the times to their performance of it. The meanest soldier of the ranks, in the persons of the Agitators by whom he was represented, and whose oratory but reflected in words the revolutionary ardours of his own bosom, was a party to the insolence with which those Agitators canvassed every act of the legislature in their assemblies, or appeared at the Commons' bar with their petitions, and abused the members to their faces. The Commons felt this truth,

and were silent: Charles could see none but Fairfax, and Cromwell, and the rest of the superior officers, engaged in his removal from Holmby.

Joyce himself was so sensible that he was the mere agent of the military multitude, that though, conscious of his safety, he seemed willing enough to take some credit to himself for what he had performed, he answered all interrogatories as to who were his employers, by two words—"The Army." Let the Army, said he to the King himself, be drawn to a rendezvous, and the question put to them; and I will be content to be hung, if three parts out of four do not acknowledge me in what I have done. Still was Charles unconvinced; and though, at a meeting which he had desired with the principals of the military at Childersley, where he roundly charged them generally with being privy to the plot, Fairfax had solemnly undertaken for his own and all the other officers' innocence, he repeated the charge at Royston, (according to Sir Philip Warwick), to the General, and to Cromwell; and when they equally denied having *commissioned Joyce*, still replied, "I'll not believe you, unless you hang him." That Cromwell positively denied so much, will perhaps satisfy the candid reader, (since there is not an incident in his life to countenance the idea that he would have spoken

a deliberate falsehood,) of his actual ignorance of all the circumstances connected with the execution of the scheme, to whatever extent he might have been informed of its previous agitation.

Arrived with the Army, who, as Hollis happily said, ‘ made that use of the King which the Philistines would have made of the ark,’ Charles was for some time treated with greater respect and attention, than he had experienced since his delivery up to the Parliament by the Scots. And, being allowed also as superior a degree of liberty, he soon became so well satisfied with this forced change of his place of residence, and so convinced of the good intentions of his captors, as to refuse to return to Holmby-house, when General Fairfax gave him permission, and even entreated him, so to do. “ As I took my leave of the King,” says Fairfax, “ he said to me, ‘ Sir, I have as good interest in the Army as you ;’ by which I plainly saw the broken reed he leaned on.” It would have proved no broken reed, however, on which the King leaned, had he but been capable of appreciating as they deserved the subsequent offers of Cromwell. But he appears, in this speech, to have alluded to the affection at first expressed for him by the soldiers : little recollecting, how easily large assemblages of men are swayed to the most violent opposites

of temper and conduct, by the arts of a few leaders, or by that love of change and excitement so apt to pervade them.

Cromwell, having now rejoined himself to the Army, and openly espoused the cause of the Independents, was soon reinstated in all his former military influence, and became the acknowledged leader of his religious sect. Then it was he first fully perceived, that, so long as he had it in his power to wield at will that 'coarse instrument,' the soldiery, he had nothing to fear from his parliamentary colleagues: and he proceeded, still with the greatest secrecy and caution, but now with confidence, to follow up that plan for the restricted restoration of the monarchy, which, it is only natural to believe, he had been maturing in his mind from the moment that the destruction of the kingly government, and the not less arbitrary than unprecedented sway of the Lower House, had set all heads busily to work upon projects to 'settle the nation.' Favoured as he now was by almost every possible extrinsic circumstance —by the general dislike to the Parliament—by the King's domiciliation with the Army, and present popularity with the troops—and, more than all, by the extensive authority he himself possessed, as the actual though not titular military head, and the representative of a powerful religious party—we may readily cre-

dit, with the insight we have already obtained into his character, that he was neither remiss in his endeavours to procure such terms from the King, as should confer a rational freedom upon the country, nor in such as might secure his own permanent security and greatness. But Charles, possessed with the idea that his importance to every party was so great, that it must instantly turn the scale in favour of the one to which he should surrender himself, hesitated so long between the offers made him by the Scots, the Presbyterians of the two Houses, and Cromwell with the Independents, (the two former parties being alarmed in some consideration for, and concessions to his Majesty, by the Army's possession of his person), that he lost the opportunity of making his peace with either. Cromwell's terms were the more moderate: he insisting mainly upon such retrenchments of the prerogative, as were indispensable to the just liberties of the people; and agreeing to the re-establishment, without its coercive powers, of episcopal government, not as matter of right, but upon the broad basis of toleration to all religious denominations. The Presbyterians, on the contrary, stuck by the League and Covenant; and would have Presbyterianism, and Presbyterianism alone, established in all ecclesiastical affairs. Charles seems to have proceeded practically upon the maxim of 'di-

vide and govern;' hoping to effect an open breach between the civil and military powers, or between the English and Scotch nations; and, out of their contentions, to find means to reinstate himself in all his former absolute authority. Ireton, therefore, (the ever zealous fellow-labourer with Cromwell), plainly told him, 'Sir, you have an intention to be the arbitrator between the Parliament and us, and we mean to be it between your Majesty and the Parliament.' Charles actually once so far forgot himself, as to let fall the words—'I shall play my game as well as I can.' When Ireton, who till then was of opinion, that 'the King might be managed to comply with the public good of his people,' naturally replied, 'If your Majesty have *a game* to play, you must give us also the liberty to play ours.' In a conversation Ireton afterward held with Colonel Hutchinson, who was his cousin, relative to the Independents' treaty with the King, he is related by Mrs. H. to have said: 'He gave us *words;* and we paid him in his own coin, when we found he had no real intention to the people's good, but to prevail, by our factions, to regain by art what he had lost in fight.' Finally, Charles so disgusted the heads of the party, that upon the easiest terms would have restored him, by his often repeating—'You cannot do without me; you will fall to ruin if

I do not sustain you'—that they entirely altered their minds respecting the expediency of his restoration, and many of them became the most active among the clamourers for justice upon him as a public delinquent.

Some farther violent transactions of the Army, for which time was allowed by Charles's vacillatory conduct, contributed to this sad result. Presuming upon the authority they had recently acquired, and conscious that the Parliament was still wholly governed, through its majorities, by Presbyterian principles, they drew daily nearer London, to overawe the Houses; and shortly adopted the bold measure of accusing eleven members of the Commons, the chiefs of the opposite party, of high treason. They determined also upon wresting the city militia from the commanders, creatures of the Presbyterians, recently appointed it by their influence; and required that it should be replaced in the hands of those who had conducted it during the war. The Parliament, in all humbleness, acquiesced; but were almost immediately compelled to rescind their vote, by the clamour and violences of the Londoners. For these latter were very generally Presbyterian; and being at this moment actuated by sentiments of compassion toward the humiliated King, (while in the Army the current of opinion was already returning to its old channel of hostility to roy-

alty), they not contented themselves with achieving this victory, but obliged their masters to vote, that 'the King should come forthwith to London, and be invited thither with honour, freedom, and safety.' The Army, availing themselves of so favourable a pretext, declared their intention to free the Parliament from the restraints exercised upon their counsels; and immediately commenced their march from Reading, where they then were, for London. At Hounslow-heath, strange to say, (such was the madness of party, and the consternation the military inspired,) they were met by the two Speakers, Manchester and Lenthall, attended by eight peers, and about sixty commoners, who unanimously declared that they came to them for protection. That these commoners, who were chiefly Independents, should resolve upon such a step, is the less surprising. But that any of the peers, who might not have been expected to set so much value upon a tumultuary movement of the soldiery, should give such a sanction to their violence, is to be wondered at: and particularly as to Manchester, who was reckoned to be in the Presbyterian interest; and who, from his old enmity to Cromwell, might be supposed peculiarly averse to any condescensions to that Independent Army, in which the Lieutenant-general held so high a post, and the present proceedings of which,

though he neither directed nor approved them, he had not felt it prudent to disavow. But, as Hollis quaintly says, 'Presbyterians were trumps no longer;' and Manchester, who had in effect fought both with and for the King when formerly in command, perhaps intended to play the knave in a new pack.

The soldiers conducted their unexpected friends with shouts to London; easily subduing all opposition to themselves, from the remainder of the two Houses and the citizens. They reinstated the Speakers, and the members; and, assuring themselves of complete success from the flight of the obnoxious *eleven* they had recently accused, escorted the King to Hampton Court, and established their own head-quarters at Putney. The very engine, that Cromwell, both at first, and again latterly, had not been wanting in efforts to screw to its present pitch, had now begun to work in a direction counter to his intentions: triumph had given a hasty reflux to the weak, incipient tide of momentarily returning loyalty. The Army saw that the King and the Parliament were at their mercy; that they were become the only efficient power in the state; and, as though it were impossible for their minds to remain without an exciting object, for their spirits to subside into the calm of peaceful occupations and bloodless thoughts, their whole fury was then soon turned against the *life* of their still self-de-

luded sovereign. Cromwell himself, who was upon such good grounds suspected to have entered into private engagements with the King, with reason expressed his apprehensions, that, from the altered sentiments of the troops, he was unsafe in his own quarters. Speaking to some of Charles's friends, who, with much littleness of mind, were continually requiring him to repeat his promises, "If I am an honest man," said he, "I have said enough of the sincerity of my intentions; and if I am not, nothing is enough: therefore I conjure you, as you tender the King's service, not to come so frequently to my quarters, but to send your business in private; the suspicion of me being grown so great, that I am afraid to be in them myself." Before this time, he had let them know how fully he was aware of the wavering and insincere temper of Charles: For, Clarendon himself tells us, he "expostulated with Mr. Ashburnham, and complained that 'the King could not be trusted; that he had no affection or confidence in the Army, but was jealous of them, and of all the officers; that he had intrigues in the Parliament, and treaties with the Presbyterians of the city, to raise new troubles; that he had a treaty concluded with the Scotch Commissioners, (which was the fact, though he continued thus to negociate with Cromwell), to engage the nation again in blood: and, therefore, that he

(Cromwell) would not be answerable, if any thing fell out amiss, and contrary to expectation.' "

And now the Agitators, agreeably to a curious narrative (given in Mr. Baron Maseres' Tracts) of Sir John Berkley, who, with Ashburnham, was at this time about the King's person, plainly observed, that, since his Majesty had not accepted their proposals, they were not obliged any farther to them; but that they *were* obliged to consult their own safety, and the good of the kingdom, and to use such means toward both as they should find rational. And, continues this writer, 'because they met with strong opposition from Cromwell and Ireton, and most of the superior officers, and some even of the Agitators, they had many private solemn meetings in London; where they humbled themselves before the Lord, and sought his good pleasure, and desired that he would be pleased to reveal it to his saints, (which they interpreted those to be who were most violent, or zealous, as they called it, in the work of the Lord).' And these, finding it 'apparent, that God had, on the one side, hardened the King's heart, and blinded his eyes, in not passing the proposals, whereby they were absolved from offering him any more; and that, on the other side, the Lord had led captivity captive, and put all things under their feet;' they were therefore 'bound to finish the work of the Lord; which

was, to alter the government, according to their first design; and, to this end, they were resolved to seize the King's person, and to take him out of Cromwell's hands.'

But not yet to be put from his purpose, the Lieutenant-general made one bold effort to befriend his Majesty in spite of himself; though, by it, he placed his own person and authority in some apparent danger. He farther advised with such officers of the Council, as continued faithful to the late views of the Army; and, as the result of their conference, a '*rendezvous*' of the troops was appointed to be held between Hertford and Ware, with a view to use their endeavours to make the propositions to the King once more agreeable to the soldiers. A *rendezvous* had of late been the usual resource of the military authorities, when they wanted to carry any measure by the voices of their men; but, in this instance, it was attended with little of the effect proposed by the planners of it. For, having notice of the business to be brought forward, the tumultuary troops determined to execute their intention of laying hands upon the King the day before the meeting should take place. Cromwell, from whom nothing was concealed, received intelligence of this; and wrote to Colonel Whalley, then military guardian of the King, to warn him of the design. By this step, he subsequently in-

curred the odium of inciting Charles's flight from Hampton Court to a safer prison; though no necessary connection can be perceived between the King's escape, and his detention in Carisbrooke Castle. And indeed all probability points to the conclusion, that Cromwell sincerely wished Charles might find means to obtain some asylum out of the kingdom, until, for his own part, he could use measures to subdue the frantic disposition that agitated the troops at home: when all the interests for which he had provided would have been secured, would the monarch have but kept faith with him, by his restoration.

The rendezvous was held, notwithstanding, on the day appointed. When the more violent of the republican party among the soldiers, including several entire regiments, appeared in the field with what Ludlow calls 'distinguishing marks in their hats;' and declared their resolution to 'stand to their engagement, not to be dispersed till the things they had demanded were effected, and the government of the nation (meaning a commonwealth) established.' Undismayed by this audacity in the anti-monarchical faction, the Lieutenant-general, accompanied by his loyalist officers, rode up to one of the regiments which displayed the 'distinguishing marks,' and ordered the men to take them from their hats:—they hesitated:—

Cromwell immediately caused twelve, who appeared the most refractory, to be seized, and one of them to be shot upon the field; besides apprehending several of the officers. By which prompt and decisive measures, the troops, appalled, were reduced to submission, and forthwith remanded to their quarters. Still, the object of the meeting had not been gained, so far as it had been to procure the general re-assent to the propositions submitted to the King: yet still would the Lieutenant-general have persevered, if, as Ludlow asserts, two-thirds of the Army had not gone to him and Ireton, to tell them, that, "though they were certain to perish in the enterprise, they would leave nothing unattempted to bring the whole body of the forces to their (the republicans') resolution; and that, if all failed, they would make a division in the Army, and join with any who should assist, in the destruction of those that should oppose them." Upon which bold declaration, Cromwell and Ireton are said to have argued, 'that if they *could not* bring the Army to their sense, it was best to comply with them, a schism being utterly destructive to both.'—But thus, let it be especially remarked, have we seen the same Cromwell, who afterward usurped the throne, using for a time the most strenuous efforts to effect the sovereign's re-elevation to it: disappointed in this object by the sovereign's own

weakness and indecision, persevering still toward its accomplishment, until so large a majority of the army, by whose aid alone he could achieve such an enterprise, had frankly declared their determination to be no parties to the attempt: and at last relinquishing his design, only from a conviction that farther to prosecute it must end in the general ruin of himself and party. His most violent enemy, Lord Holles, owns the danger the Lieutenant-general was in, owing to his prominent, though by himself never distinctly admitted share in the Independents' treaty with Charles: observing, of the army Agitators, that 'hatred to the King, envy and jealousies against their aspiring leaders, and a violent desire of having their work done at once—*to lay all persons and things level on the sudden*,* and bring forth their monstrous conceptions at one birth—made them even resolve to take Cromwell out of the way, and murder him for an apostate.'†

* Designs such as these were commonly attributed to a sect called *Levellers*, who had sprung up upon the King's defeat and captivity: but the more moderate of them, among whom appear to have been many of the Independents, including Colonel Hutchinson, had far more rational views; aiming only at the establishment of an equal commonwealth, and asserting only the *natural equal* rights of men, as opposed to the distinctions of *hereditary rank*, and the exclusive privileges of *caste*.

† Memoirs, p. 184

But, as if all this were insufficient to induce the future Protector to desert the interests of the King, the following anecdote is given by some writers, on the authority of Lord Bolingbroke, who had it from the (second) Earl of Oxford. A letter, which Lord Oxford stated that he had seen, and held in his own hands, from the King to the Queen, (then in France), in answer to one of her Majesty's, which had been first intercepted and afterward forwarded to his Majesty, fell, with the former, into the Lieutenant-general's hands—at the moment when he was so naturally 'weary of treating with the King to no purpose'—and determined, it is said, the monarch's fate. The Queen's epistle had reproached her royal partner with making 'those villains too great concessions;' (viz. that the honours before mentioned should be conferred on Cromwell, &c.): to which the King replied, 'that she should leave him to manage, who was better informed of all circumstances than she could be;' and that she might be 'entirely easy as to whatever concessions he should make them;' since he should 'know in due time how to deal with the rogues, who, *instead of a silken garter, should be fitted with a hempen cord,*' &c. Cromwell's spy described this letter as sewed up in the skirt of a saddle, to be taken, the same night on which his information was conveyed, to the Blue Boar Inn,

Holborn, and from thence to be forwarded to Dover; and it is added, that himself and Ireton proceeded to that inn, disguised as troopers; and, having by artifice obtained the important charge from the courier, took horse instantly for Windsor, and joined with the council of officers there in voting for the King's trial.—The same letter is probably referred to by others, who assert that Charles was discovered by Cromwell to have informed the Queen, that 'though he should assent to the Army's proposals, yet if, by so doing, he could procure peace, it would be easier *then* to take off Cromwell, than now he was the head that governed the Army.'

Meanwhile, the misguided King, on his escape from Hampton Court, 'surer of flying than whither he should fly,' as Milton said, had arrived in the Isle of Wight; and, through the precipitancy of his chief confidant, Mr. Ashburnham, was become a prisoner to Colonel Hammond, Governor of Carisbrooke Castle, who, though a well-wisher to the King's person, was an inflexible partisan of the Parliament. Here, on the fifth day from his arrival, information came of the Lieutenant-general's late firmness at the rendezvous; which, agreeably to Sir John Berkley's narrative before alluded to, made them all 'bless God for the resolution of coming into the island.' And Sir

John was thereupon deputed to Windsor, with 'colourable letters' to the General-in-chief, and confidential ones to Cromwell and Ireton, together with one from Colonel Hammond himself; the purport of all which was, to conjure them, and the other superior officers, 'by their engagements, by their interests, by their honour, and their consciences, to come to a speedy close with the King, and not to expose themselves still to the fantastic giddiness of the Adjutators.'

But such solicitations, however sincerely they might speak the desires of the King himself, in the situation to which he was now reduced, came too late to effect any thing in his favour. Arriving at Windsor, Sir John states that he found a meeting of the officers then sitting at General Fairfax's quarters; and that, upon delivering his letters, 'the General looked very severely upon him, and, after his manner, said they were the Parliament's army, and therefore could not say any thing to his Majesty's motion of peace, but must refer those matters to them.' Sir John then looking about him 'upon Cromwell and Ireton, and the rest of his acquaintance,' they 'saluted him very coldly, and had their countenances quite changed toward him, and shewed him Hammond's letter, which he had delivered to them, and smiled with much disdain upon it.'

Finding the Council to be no place for him,

the narrator continues, he obtained accidentally, by means of his servant, a meeting with one of the general officers, who was more friendly to him than he dared openly shew, at twelve at night, in a close behind the Garter Inn: when the officer frankly informed him, that the Council, notwithstanding their late engagements, were resolved 'to destroy the King and his posterity.' Enquiring 'what was the reason of this horrid change?—what the King had done to deserve it?'—the officer replied, 'Nothing,' (*i. e.* nothing to deserve death); 'and that to our grief, for we would leap for joy, if we could have any advantage against him. I have pleaded hard against this resolution this day, but have been laughed at for my pains.' Still more unsatisfied, Sir John again expressed his inability to comprehend why such perfidiousness was resolved upon, the Lieutenant-general and the other loyalist officers 'being superior at the rendezvous.' To which the other replied, that 'he could not tell certainly, but conceived'—proceeding with the statement of the appeal of two-thirds of the Army to Cromwell and Ireton, before given from Ludlow.

Next morning, Sir John sent a messenger to Cromwell himself, to advise him that he had secret letters and instructions for him from the King. In vain!—The Lieutenant-general returned answer that he durst not see him, as it

would be dangerous for both: adding, that he would serve the King as long as he could do it without his own ruin, but that Sir John could not expect him to perish for his Majesty's sake. Neither Sir John, nor the general officer before mentioned, of course, were aware of Cromwell's additional motives for his present conduct, arising from those well-grounded convictions of the King's sinister intentions, of the sources of which the reader has been informed; but which convictions, there can be little doubt, more than any other considerations, induced him to secede from the royal cause, and thus avert the fate that on all sides seemed preparing for himself. While the accession of his powerful party to the remainder of the Army, now so madly thirsting for the blood of their anticipated victim, but too soon brought destruction on his captive head.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM CROMWELL'S JUNCTION WITH THE REPUBLICANS TO HIS FINAL CONCURRENCE WITH THE KING'S TRIAL.

Cromwell's Irresolution to proceed against the Life of Charles —Procures Meetings of the Religious and Political Leaders —His singular Conduct at the Latter—His Character of Charles, given in the House—Insurrections of the Royal Party—Cromwell sent into Wales—New Invasion of the Scots—The Presbyterians' Intolerance in their Treaty with Charles—The King's Final Division from that Sect—Cromwell Marches to meet the Scots—Huntington's Conspiracy against him—The Victory at Preston—Cromwell Pursues his route to Edinburgh—Honors paid him in that City—The Soldiers again seize the King, and insist upon his Trial—Enter London, and Displace many of the Members —Cromwell's Return from Scotland—Consideration of his asserted Ignorance of the late Proceedings in London—Meetings with Whitelock and others—His Final Concurrence with the purposed Trial of the King—Reflections on his Conduct.

But, whether led by any portion of that native tenderness of disposition, which, notwithstanding the nearly universal disbelief in its existence, he certainly did sometimes suffer to break the stern severity of his usual public conduct, and to which he permitted un-

restrained play in private and domestic life—or whether his late frequent intercourse with Charles, by softening down the harsh resolves of the warrior into pity for the condition of a fallen and imprisoned King, had rendered him more susceptible of those native amiabilities of character, that shone through all the faults and weaknesses of the monarch—Cromwell, though he at length willingly concurred in the destruction of the kingly power, was still irresolute to join in a deliberate design against the life of its rightful possessor. Still, common probability pointed to such a tragic conclusion of the *Trial*, which was now purposed, of a sovereign by his subjects; yet, still the wish would linger in his bosom to prevent it. Confused, perplexed, by his meditations upon the impending fate of the monarch—upon the destinies awaiting the Parliament, the opposed religious and political factions, his own particular party, and himself—he, possibly, saw difficulties surrounding his every future step, with but little prospect of elevating himself above his present military post. Prompted, therefore, by all his conflicting feelings, as the once acknowledged subject of a King, who had avowed a future intention against his life, but whose own life he had the magnanimity even yet to wish to preserve; by all his ardours as a religious professor, anxious for the welfare of an enlightened and liberally-

disposed sect; by the still lurking ambition of the military partizan; by his patriotism, as a member of the commonwealth, upon whose conduct the nation's interests might so essentially depend; and, more than all perhaps, guided by his ardent desire to pierce the views of the different parties, to read the very souls of their chiefs;—the Lieutenant-general, about this time, procured assemblies to be held, first of the religious, and next of the political leaders; with sincere wishes, very probably, directed to his expressed object, their reconciliation for the public good; but with as strong ones, doubtless, to his own developement of their secret aims.

At the former of these meetings, Ludlow says, he found it a work too difficult for him, to compose the differences between the two ecclesiastical sects; one of whom (the Independent) would endure no superior, the other (the Presbyterian) no equal. At the latter, which he styles 'a Conference between the Grandees of the House and Army and the Commonwealth's-men,' he tells us that 'the Grandees, of whom Lieutenant-general Cromwell was the head, kept themselves in the clouds, and would not declare their judgments either for a monarchical, aristocratical, or democratical government; maintaining that either of them might be good in themselves, or for them, according

as Providence should direct them—the Commonwealth's-men declared that monarchy was neither good in itself, nor for them—Cromwell professed himself unresolved :' &c. In conclusion, the Lieutenant-general most oddly broke up the conference, 'having learned what he could of the principles and inclinations of those present,' by—*taking up a cushion, and throwing it at Ludlow's head!*—and then ran down the stairs: 'but I,' says Ludlow, 'overtook him with another, which made him hasten down faster than he desired.' The acutest metaphysician might vainly seek to trace any association between the thoughts that prompted to this action, and those likely to be suggested by debates on a subject, 'the most important which could fall under the discussion of human creatures.'* But thus much may be plausibly inferred—that the man, who could in this manner dissolve a meeting he had himself procured, of the greatest and wisest in a nation, must feel some irrepressible consciousness of the superiority of his own mind, even to all those that with so much pains had just been bared before him; or else that some incidental word had suddenly relieved his spirits from the weight by which they had been lately overborne; or that his fancy was as suddenly irradiated by some col-

* Hume.

loquial flash, for one gay delirious moment that lit up the vista to his future greatness.*

The King, being kept in close confinement in Carisbrooke Castle, and become hopeless of finding an instrument to his restoration in the Army, now endeavoured to set on foot a new treaty with the Parliament. But that body, at length entirely delivered over to the military authority, replied by requiring preliminaries to negotiation, which, however desirable, to

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* It was truly said by one of his contemporaries, that "Oliver loved an innocent jest." And with this subject may be connected his physician Bates's mention of the farcical tricks he would sometimes play off upon his soldiers. Often, he tells us, would he make feasts for the inferior officers, and while they were intent upon their meal, and before they had near satisfied their hunger, cause the drums to beat, as a signal for the private men to fall on and snatch away the half-eaten dishes. At other times, he would incite the bluff and sturdy veterans to throw hot coals into their comrades' boots, or set them to flinging cushions (which therefore appears to have been a favourite sport with him) at each others' heads. 'Then,' continues Bates, 'when the officers had sufficiently laughed, and tired themselves, with these preludes, he would *wheedle them to open their hearts freely;* and, by that means, he sometimes drew secrets from the unwary, which afterwards they might wish to have been enwrapped in everlasting darkness; whilst he, though ever thus on the alert to discover the opinions of others, never failed effectually to conceal his own.' —Cowley also asserts, that he would fling cushions, or divert himself at snow-balls, even with his menial servants.

bind the hands of a monarch whose inherent disposition to arbitrary sway it might otherwise seem impossible to contravene, were such as they knew it was totally unlikely he should accede to. And, upon his consequently anticipated refusal, they availed themselves of the opportunity to vote, that they would make no more addresses to his Majesty, nor receive either his future messages or letters—thereby virtually dethroning him. *(n)* But this was only carried after a debate, which lasted from the morning till late at night; and then, it is said, principally through the exertions of Cromwell and Ireton, who were now at least equally bent upon discarding, as they had been formerly upon treating with him. The former in particular declared, that 'the King was so great a dissembler, and so false a man, he was not to be trusted:' and he is described to have clapped his hand upon his sword at the conclusion of his speech, as if to intimidate the high Presbyterians, who were against the measure; knowing that *they* would have made any treaty with the King, rather than that the Army should prevent it, as they would have exerted themselves to prevent any treaty which the Army should propose. For a time, however, the popular commiseration, excited by the calamities and protracted imprisonment of Charles, was a serious bar to the completion of the military's

schemes, for the destruction of his person and the monarchical government. Insurrections broke out in various parts; tumultuary assemblages took place at the doors of the Houses; the King's deliverance and restoration were loudly demanded nearly on all hands; and it became at last necessary to dispatch Cromwell with a body of troops into South Wales, and Fairfax with others into Essex, to put down the once again reviving loyalty of the people. Both generals were eminently successful: the hopes of the royalists once more terminating with Fairfax's capture of Colchester, and Cromwell's of Pembroke Castle; but neither until after an obstinate resistance on the part of the besieged.

But, meantime, a new enemy had arisen in the north; a Scotch and English army, in equal defence of the King and of Presbyterianism, (and by the secret treaty with the former before alluded to,) having there unfurled the royal standard. The Scots, it will have been observed, had no views directly hostile to kingly authority: Charles was of the race of their ancient monarchs; and they were still too proud of having given a sovereign to England, in the person of his father, willingly to behold the consequence of their country lowered, as they thought, in the sacrifice of the son. The former war had been commenced by them

with motives infinitely more religious than political; and the as yet scarcely diminished power of their feudal nobility, having domesticated tyranny within the minds, as upon the hearths, of the peasants that surrounded every lordling's castle, they as little dreamt of contributing to render England a republic, as of making Scotland an Utopia. Something ashamed besides, perhaps, of having delivered Charles, for a bribe's sake, into the hands of the Parliament—and yet more enraged at the dominancy of the Independents, by means of the Army, over that assembly—they had at length broadly demanded, that a personal treaty should be entered into with the King; that the *Independent Schismatic Army* should be disbanded; that Independents, Anabaptists, and all other Separatists, should be suppressed, and—as indeed they had always insisted—*no toleration allowed them;* that the League and Covenant should be enforced; and the Presbyterial form of church government more perfectly and universally established.

The Presbyterians were still a majority in the English Parliament, and had listened with ready complacency to the Scottish claims. Even their hatred to the King gave way before their desire to regain the mastery over their sectarian foes; and they had revoked their vote of 'no more addresses,' and sent commission-

ers to the Isle of Wight, once more to offer Charles terms for an accommodation. Under such auspices commenced the treaty of Newport: during the progress of which, the monarch was allowed a degree of liberty almost equal to a total freedom from restraint; but upon the express stipulation, that he should not attempt his escape while the articles were pending, nor for three weeks subsequently to their possible unfavourable close. The moment was important. The 'Independent Schismatic Army' were absent on expeditions, likely to employ them sufficiently until terms could be made: once more, therefore, had Charles an opportunity of remounting his throne, under the sanction of the popular representatives, whose voice, uniting with that of the people, might have proved, despite the Army, of force to retain him on it: it was an opportunity, that, it was nearly unpardonable not to see, if neglected, would never return to him. But, in these circumstances, did the Presbyterians persist in mixing such bitter ingredients with the cup of conciliation, that the monarch again dashed it untasted from his lips. Among other things which they harshly and intolerantly required, was the exclusion of his chaplains, of the Book of Common Prayer, and even of every other form of worship except their *Directory*, from the King's domestic and private

devotions. As to all other ecclesiastical matters, Charles consented that the Presbytery should be continued for three years after his restoration; and that the form of church government should then be settled for the future, as should be agreed upon by himself and parliament. It was upon this point, and the requisitions of the Parliament for the banishment of certain royalists, his friends, while he himself insisted upon limiting their punishment to a temporary expatriation, that the King and the Presbyterian party finally split. A portion of that finesse —one of those secret reservations, approved by his little council—to which he was formerly wont to have recourse, might have delivered him from this difficulty. By such arts, he might, when re-possessed of the power, have rendered those concessions nugatory, which were unjust to his friends, or which impaired his religious freedom; and though such deceit in him could not have been effectually excused, never could it have sprung from better motives, or admitted of an easier palliation. But continued misfortune, and his long confinement, it would appear, had at length given a character to the monarch, greater, though less worldly prudent, than would admit of the artifices of which he had so often been capable: and he had become resolved at last to sacrifice every thing rather than his integrity. From that

moment, he became arrayed in truer majesty, than the regalia of his office had ever conferred: and his reasoning powers, which were always acute, exhibited themselves to such advantage in his unsupported discussions, for such they were compelled to be, with the *fifteen* able and learned Parliamentary commissioners, that they themselves were astonished at the calm, intellectual, dignified display. Add to which, that, having laid aside all care of his person ever since his removal from Hampton Court, his neglected beard, and '*grey, discrowned head*,' as himself affectingly called it in some verses yet extant, added so greatly to the serene and melancholy sweetness of his natural countenance, that his very enemies could not regard him without mingled feelings of compassion and respect. There is no part of the famous '*Icon* attributed to him,' which so masters the feelings, and so disposes the mind to forget his multiplied errors in the contemplation of his misfortunes, as that in which he alludes to the desolation of his soul in the Isle of Wight, when cut off from the society of those, from whom he had of late derived almost his only earthly comfort, his well-meaning and pious chaplains. Beneath this crown of his distress, thus pathetically ran his meditations.—"But *my* agony must not be relieved with the pre-

sence of any one good angel; for such I account a learned, godly, and discreet divine; and such I would have all mine to be. To Thee, therefore, O God, do I direct my now solitary prayers! What I want of others' help, supply with the more immediate assistance of thy spirit: in Thee is all fulness: from Thee is all sufficiency: by Thee is all acceptance. Thou art company enough, and comfort enough. Thou art my King, be also my prophet and my priest. Rule me, teach me, pray in me, for me, and be Thou ever with me."

After the reduction of Pembroke Castle, Cromwell, hearing of the invasion of the Scots, immediately put his forces in motion to join Major-general Lambert in the north, and give them battle. He had now decidedly embraced the republican cause; and, having done so, it would have been inconsistent with the promptitude of his resolves in all emergent cases, not to have performed his utmost to lop off the double head of loyalty and Presbyterianism, that had sprouted beneath Charles's banner in the north. Presbyterianism had exerted her old malice against him, as much as her new friendship for the King, since he left London; and, but a moment prior, had been busy in endeavouring his recal from the Army, in order to prevent his opposing himself to her zealous

sons of Scotland. For, to this end, Milton says, "whilst he staves off the enemy at the peril of his life, these (the Presbyterians) accuse him—fighting bravely for them, (in Wales) and amidst the very encounter itself—of feigned crimes, and suborn one Major Huntington against his head." This man's accusations were to the effect, that "Cromwell and Ireton had, from the beginning, instigated the Army to disobey and resist the parliament; that they had pledged themselves to make the King the most glorious prince in Christendom, while they were only making use of him, and while their real object was to perpetuate the power of the Army; that Ireton said, when the King and Parliament were treating, he hoped they would make such a peace, that the Army might, with a good conscience, fight against them both; and that Cromwell had, both in public and private, maintained as his principle, that every individual was a judge of just and right as to the good and ill of a kingdom; that it was lawful to pass through any forms of government for attaining his end, and that it was lawful to play the knave with a knave." The truth, the exaggeration, and the falsehood, contained in these statements, will probably present themselves to such readers, at least, as the author has successfully laboured to possess with his

own sentiments of Cromwell's previous character. It only deserves remark, that the charges are stronger against Ireton than his father-in-law; as well as consistent in some degree with the common opinion of Ireton's rooted fondness for republicanism; which, indeed, there is reason to believe that Cromwell was the only being capable of inducing him to veil, in any degree, during the progress of their negotiation with the King. Whatever were the sentiments of the Parliament on these points, it is certain that a majority among them were still found, including many even of the Presbyterians themselves, who had no wish to see Presbyterianism supported in London by the Scottish broad-sword; and who, being therefore sensible of the importance of Cromwell to them at this juncture, refused to countenance the charges of an apparently willing and malicious agent, and thereby take him off from his command. At a future period, Milton adds, Huntington, being 'unpunished, and left to his own liberty, at length struck with remorse, came of himself and besought Cromwell's pardon, and freely confessed by whom he had been suborned.'

The battle of Preston, fought August 17th, 1648, threw both kingdoms into the hands of the republicans. The Scots, who found some difficulty in comprehending that Cromwell was

not still in Wales, with such rapidity had he approached, even by this their decisive overthrow in Lancashire, were commanded by Duke Hamilton; the English who sided with them by the same Sir Marmaduke Langdale, whom Cromwell had so signally beaten at Naseby. Their armies together numbered twenty-one thousand: the force under Cromwell, including Lambert's, which had effected a junction with him on his approach, did not in all exceed eight thousand six hundred.* Nothing but the event, could have justified the instant assault of the royalists with this vast disparity of force. But the bigotry of the Scots gave Cromwell an advantage which he had not even calculated upon: their sectarian hatred of the cavalier Army, notwithstanding their engagement in the same cause, leading them to withhold their support from their English allies, when the latter were separately attacked; and their own most perfect overthrow justly followed the indulgence of feelings so unworthy. As to the north-countrymen under Sir Marmaduke Langdale, Cromwell confessed that 'never had he seen foot fight so desperately as they.' But nothing could withstand the furious charges of our redoubted general: his victory over both

* Whitelock.

the confederates was complete; and was gained at an expence to the Royalists, taken all together, of two thousand slain, and of prisoners, (including Duke Hamilton himself), whose number alone exceeded that of their opponent's whole army. Cromwell followed up the blow, by marching immediately for Scotland, at once to extinguish the Hamiltonian party for the King; but preserving, on his crossing the frontier, such strict discipline amongst his soldiery, that the Scotch confessed 'they never saw such a civil people in all their days.'* Arriving at Edinburgh, he was received by the authorities of that city with great ceremony: and promptly demanded of them, that none who had been concerned in 'the late and wicked engagement and invasion,' should be employed thenceforward in any place of trust; to which the Committee of Estates, among whom his successes had worked a recent revolution, gave a satisfactory answer, and by common consent hailed him 'the deliverer of the kirk.' During his stay, he had many conferences with commissioners from the ecclesiastical body, and visits from the lord-provost and the nobles; and the cost of his entertainment, and that of all his company, was defrayed by the chief magistrate,

* Mem. of Capt. J. Hodgson.

by order. General Leven, the Lord Argyle, and several other noblemen, invited him and his suite to a sumptuous banquet in the castle, just before his departure: and, when he left the place, the majestic fortress saluted him with its great guns, and numerous lords convoyed him beyond the city precincts.*

Great events, meanwhile, were occurring in the south. The soldiery in that quarter, having quelled all disturbances, and become indignant at the treaty still pending between the Presbyterians and the King, sent a party of horse, under the command of Major-general Harrison, to seize his Majesty at Newport; from whence they conducted him to Hurst Castle, and placed a strong guard upon his person. Foreseeing some such event, as a consequence of the joint successes of Cromwell and Fairfax, his friends had advised him to escape while it was yet in his power. But Charles, whose sincerity was now so timed as to be very weakness, refused: alleging that the Parliament 'had promised him, and he had promised them:' as if the engagements he had entered into with a party in the House, could in reason be considered binding, when the operations of his open enemies had deprived them of the power, even if

* Whitelock.

they retained the inclination, to fulfil theirs. 'And what,' continued he, 'if the Army seize me? They must preserve me for their own sakes; for no party can secure their own interest without joining me with it.' To which a nobleman who adhered to him sensibly replied: 'Take heed, Sir, lest you fall into such hands, as will not steer by such rules of policy. Remember Hampton Court, where your escape was your best security.'

About the same period, the southern forces, chiefly instigated by Ireton, presented a 'large *Remonstrance*' to the Parliament, introduced by a letter from the General-in-chief, become by his father's decease Lord Fairfax; though his lordship may with justice be excused from the imputation of any very willing or really prominent share in the transaction. This remonstrance required, that the Parliament should return to their vote for 'no more addresses;' proceed against the King in a way of justice; decree that the Prince of Wales, and Duke of York, (afterward Charles II., and James II., who had both found means to quit the kingdom,) should render themselves by a certain day, or stand exiled for ever as traitors; that the Parliament should speedily terminate their sitting; that all future Parliaments should be annual, or biennial; and that no King should ever after be allowed, but upon the election of, and as upon

trust from the people, by their representatives. To work upon the fears of the members, they threatened to march to London, if their desires were not immediately complied with: and, the House taking no steps toward their satisfaction, they entered the city, and lodged their General in Whitehall; *(o)* taking up their own quarters in St. James's, and elsewhere, as they judged proper. But the Commons even yet continued firm in the spirit of resistance; finding that the time was arrived, when they must either effectually subdue, or remain for ever subdued by their troops. They voted, that the late seizure of his Majesty was without their knowledge or consent; and that his late concessions to them, which they had themselves but just before deemed so unsatisfactory, were a sufficient ground to proceed on for the settlement of the kingdom. Such votes, in the situation of the opposed parties, were regarded as a defiance by the Army, who resolved upon a summary retaliation. The day following, a regiment of foot, under Colonel Pride, assisted by another of horse, displaced, by order of the officers' council, the city train-bands from about the House, and stationed themselves as a guard in their stead: seizing also forty-one of the members most active in the recent design of bringing about an accommodation with the King, and secluding others from their Parliamentary du-

ties, in the whole to the number of ninety.—This act of violence, in the language of the day, was called '*purging the House.*' The same night, *Lieutenant-general Cromwell returned from Scotland,* and 'lay at Whitehall; where, and at other places, he declared he had not been acquainted with this design; yet that, since it was done, he was glad of it, and would endeavour to maintain it.'* Next day, he took his seat in the House: when it was resolved by the members, about 150 in number, who had escaped 'Pride's purge,' to give him 'hearty thanks for very great and eminently faithful services, performed by him to this Parliament and kingdom, both in this kingdom and the kingdom of Scotland; and Mr. Speaker did accordingly give him the very hearty thanks of this House.'†

The Lieutenant-general declared his ignorance of an intention in the Army, to assume their late unwarrantable authority over the House:—yet impartial posterity will pause, ere it yields him implicit, literal belief. It was the act, it will be recollected, of that 'Independent schismatic Army,' of which Cromwell was the real head; Fairfax, in the Presbyterian interest so far as he dared to be, though it is doubtful if he were a Presbyterian himself, en-

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*. Ludlow. †. Journals.

gaging in a business almost entirely directed against that sect, with little probable good will, though perhaps tolerably satisfied with seeing it an apparent emanation from his authority. Ludlow, who headed the sterner republicans, a select band of men of both religious distinctions, in whom the spirit of sectarism itself was less powerful than the desire to accomplish their political views, appears willing to think himself the prime mover of the important enterprize. As perhaps did others, who, with both Fairfax and Ludlow, might be only instruments in *that man's* unseen hands, who, having by this time no reason to apprehend any thing from the resentment of the Presbyterians, possessed the good-will, it is probable, equally with the ability, to deal a severe blow to their party in the House; since their hostility to himself had raged with unquenched vigour, even up to the moment of his engaging in that very expedition to the North, from which he was now so victoriously returned. It should be remembered too, that Ireton, who, in every affair of consequence, was the Lieutenant-general's chief agent, and who seems indeed rarely to have acted without his father-in-law, was one of those most active in the business. That the movements of the troops, who led Fairfax rather than were led by him, toward London, corresponded with Cromwell's approach to the same point. And that the expul-

sion of the members took place on that very day, upon the night of which he arrived, to express his pleasure at the Army's conduct, and, if necessary, it may be presumed, to support it. Mrs. Hutchinson even assures us, that, on some prior occasion, he was 'in the mind to have come and broken them (the Parliament) up;' had not Colonel Hutchinson, and others of the '*soberer* officers,' dissuaded him from it.* Upon the whole, it may perhaps be judged, that the Lieutenant-general was content, (agreeably to a policy he had before sometimes used,) by means of his emissaries and humble friends, to influence the minds and nerve the spirits of his compeers, in a way calculated to produce certain consequences—which, in the case before us, it is impossible to deny must have been desirable to him—without directly pointing out, or afterward directly sanctioning, their line of conduct: a mode of operation, that would square with his asserted ignorance of the plan actually adopted, and was attended with the advantage of leaving him a loop-hole of escape at all hazards.

Soon after his return from Scotland, and before the Commons had fully determined to bring

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* It is worthy remark, that Ireton, generally deemed to have been uniformly of such violent principles, is named among these *soberer* officers at the prior time this lady speaks of.

the King to trial, Cromwell had several meetings with Whitelock and Sir Thomas Widdrington, (who had been appointed two of the commissioners of the great seal,) the Speaker of the House of Commons, and a few others in whom he could trust, to consider of the critical situation of affairs, and the best means to free the nation from the evils, with which it was threatened nearly upon all hands. From the violent death of the King, it was plain that anarchy alone was likely to ensue; from his restoration on the only terms he had shewn any real disposition to accept, a double slavery, by which religion and liberty would be equally enchained; from the perpetuity of the Commons, the surrender of a betrayed people to the ambition and cupidity of a band of magisterial senators, who would besides daily insult, if not ultimately destroy the House of Peers—an institution, however then degraded, as vital to the constitution, and yet more ancient, than themselves;—from the continued ascendancy of the Army, a reign of exaction, terror, violence, and blood. In such a crisis, since even the Army, as an entire body, was not under his acknowledged direction, not a single safe or feasible opening could as yet present itself to his own supreme dominancy: on the contrary, neither he, nor any other, who had taken an active

part in the national affairs, could feel assured of a day's permanency for their places, military or civil, and scarcely for their existences. Thus situated, it was both politic and patriotic in Cromwell, to seek the counsels of the temperate few, by whose assistance he might hope to calm, in some degree, the passions of the contending parties; and eventually, by some middle path, conduct all things back to their wonted rest and security. With such designs, he was greatly willing to make concessions even to his mortal enemies; and therefore concurred in proposing, not only that endeavours should be used to moderate the overweening temper of the Army, but to procure the restitution of the secluded Presbyterians and others to the House, (hoping, perhaps, that late experience would have taught them less exclusive and arbitrary views), and a final settlement, by means of an united Parliament, of the distracted and unhappy kingdom. The King seems not to have been mentioned in these debates; and, therefore, neither his restoration nor death could be directly contemplated by the parties: probably, Cromwell was willing to make one expiring effort in his behalf, by obviating, while time allowed, the necessity for either. All must acknowledge such views to be proofs of a great soul, and as well defined as circumstances would allow. He, and

his coadjutors, in this important business, appear from Whitelock to have entered upon it without the slightest conference either with the Presbyterian monarchists, the cavaliers of Charles's party, the republican Ludlow, or even with the Lieutenant-general's relation, Ireton; and they thus gave an earnest of their intention to avoid all extremes, and to seek out the national good, and that alone. But, though they succeeded in subduing partially, and for a time, the dangerous fervors of the Army,—the task more peculiarly allotted to Cromwell,—this only resulted from the well-meant attempt; the republican spirit daily gaining strength in the breasts of the military, and operating upon that very considerable portion of the people who always become frenzied in revolutionary times, in a degree to threaten destruction to all who should be so unwary as to oppose it.*

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* The *republican* spirit, however, and not a spirit exclusively *Independent*, as Hume would have us believe: for a slight investigation into the sectarian principles of those most prominent in the proceedings immediately leading to the King's death, will convince us that they were men of all religious parties, and of none. Not to cite particular instances, it may be sufficient to remark, that the *Presbyterians*, whom the historian here intends to exculpate, were still too strong in the Parliament, and certainly in the nation at large, (notwithstanding the *military* dominancy of the Independents),

Reluctantly, it must therefore be inferred, were it only from the proposed objects of these last meetings, did Cromwell finally and fully commit himself to the stream of the times, and consent to the King's trial; still though he must have been aware, that to compel any individual to submit his life to the discretion of a court, *in which his accusers were his judges*, was little else than to sign his death-warrant at once. By such an act, exercised against any *English* monarch, must the sword of justice be shivered, as it were, by its own stroke; the sanctuary of mercy be left without the pale of its own operation; the source of retributive power be employed for its own destruction! Cromwell, it

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to be placed, with any shew of justice, entirely in the background at so momentous a crisis. Indeed, such was their strength, that their form of church government was confirmed by act shortly after the King's death; and was essentially maintained—greatly, it is true, owing to the liberal sentiments of the Independents themselves—under every subsequent administration of the national affairs, including the Protectorate of Cromwell, until the Restoration. And when Cromwell forcibly dissolved the Parliament, he grounded that measure, in great degree, upon the alleged exertion of their influence (which could not have been effectually exerted unless they had still *outnumbered* the Independents in the House), to procure the return of another Parliament, which, together with themselves, should consist of '*all Presbyters.*'

may be said, could do no more. He had tried every means, as some will think, to prevent this great public calamity: but the assumption may be denied: he had indeed tried every *underhand* and *secret* means; and had been capable of publicly acknowledging his attachment to the King's cause, when it could be done by an act of military severity, that might be excused, at all events, on the ground of necessity as to military subordination. But he never *openly* expressed the conviction, which both his previous and after conduct shew him to have felt, that the proceeding was unjust, and unworthy of freemen and of Englishmen. He made not the (confessedly dangerous) appeal, though his elevated situation in the Army and the state would well have warranted it, to the mercy ever resident in the bosoms of the majority of a nation; an appeal, which the troops he immediately commanded, perhaps, and thousands of loyal hearts from among the people, no doubt, would have promptly seconded, and which *might* have been successful. On the very contrary, he now took an active, though still not always conspicuous part, in the measures he had resolved no longer to attempt to stem; and, unlike the numbers guided to the death of Charles by sincere though erroneous principle, he acted against his better

feelings and better judgment, against his conscience, and the precepts of that religion, of which he professed himself no ordinary nor lukewarm follower. Such a conduct must inevitably excite the suspicion, that then, as perhaps for a length of time before, he was so far led by his desire to extend, or at least to preserve his power, as never actually to hazard it for the sake of any duty extraneous to himself. Nay, we must suspect, that he at last became willing to let republicanism achieve its worst, and even to sanction and direct its violences; with the hope that, in the clash of parties that must follow, the ability to act in times of turbulence he must have discovered in himself, would neither forsake him, nor leave him lowermost among his fellows. He gave the whole support of himself, and party, therefore, to the proposed mock trial of the insulted person of Majesty: and, since his activity and commanding character rendered it scarcely possible but that he should become the chief and leader of all with whom for any purpose he had once determined to act, Charles, whom at former periods he had made so many efforts to preserve, was, in strict propriety of speaking, it may be, the victim of Cromwell more than of any other man in his kingdom. And, as the unhappy monarch's death must be regarded as forming the most

unfortunate epoch in our constitutional history, so must it as the most unfortunate in Cromwell's character; which, from that period, will be seen to become more and more divested of its most pleasing native attributes, mildness, equability, and the disposition to moderation and mercy.

CHAPTER. VII.

FROM THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMONS FOR THE TRIAL, TO THE KING'S DEATH.

Cromwell argues in favour of the Trial with the Scotch Commissioners—Preparatory Proceedings of the Commons—The Lords refuse their Concurrence—The Commons vote the Nullity of the Upper House, and take the Responsibility of the Measure upon themselves—The King conducted to London—Cromwell's Agitation at sight of Him—The TRIAL, First Day—Second Day—Third Day—Fourth and Fifth Days—Signature of the Warrant—Extraordinary Behaviour of Cromwell on that Occasion—Many things related of him at this Period proved to be False or Improbable—Reflections on the Trial and Execution of Charles—Cromwell's Conduct relative to them—Historical Error corrected—Lord Clarendon's Panegyric upon Charles.

IF a degree of inconsistency is to be observed in some of the last-mentioned acts of the Lieutenant-general—such as his openly approving, if not secretly authorising, the expulsion of the members, and afterward concurring to propose their restoration—and his consulting for a settlement of the kingdom without injury to the sovereign's person, and then immediately pushing foward his trial—such inconsistency will in great measure be accounted for to those, who remember that violent counsels, once adopted,

are very frequently contradictory, and the workings of the highest intellectual powers, especially in such difficult times, to the full as frequently so. But inconsistent indeed must he have been with too much of his latter, and perhaps almost his entire future self, if he had not *affected* to be more moderate in the pursuit of what was become his and the common object of the Army and Parliament, than the very instruments whom he incited to further its attainment. And in this policy he was, as ever, so successful, that Ireton—who, to the calm enquirer, appears not the immoveable, however self-convinced republican, throughout his career, that he is generally represented, but to have been his father-in-law's right-hand either for the restoration of the monarchy or its downfall—is named by Bishop Burnet as 'the person who drove it (the trial) on;' for that 'Cromwell was all the while in some suspence about it.' When it was first moved in the Commons to proceed capitally against the King, Cromwell is said to have stood up in his place, and observed, that 'if any man moved this *upon design*, he should think him the greatest traitor in the world; but, since *providence* and *necessity* had cast them upon it, he should pray God to bless their counsels, though he were not provided, on the sudden, to give them counsel.'—It is impossible to believe that such a proposi-

tion should take Cromwell, as he seems to wish it to be supposed, unawares; or that he had not in reality well meditated a point, already so much canvassed and of so much importance: and this speech, if correctly given by a party writer, may evince nothing but his ordinary desire to be little seen in measures, with which he might fully concur, and even might secretly support. It is not unlikely, however, that his frequently expressed indecision on the subject was sincere, in so far as it was the effect of such compunctious visitings, as it is apparent occasionally assailed him. But, that his mental resolves were fixed, and that he had taken some pains to fortify his spirits with arguments in their support, is evident from a fact recorded by Burnet. Commissioners from Scotland arrived to protest against the meditated violence of the English authorities; and, sensible of the quarter to which it was chiefly necessary to direct their efforts, came formally to debate the matter with Cromwell. But he, 'in a long discourse of the nature of the regal power, according to the principles of *Mariana* and *Buchanan*,' so ably rebutted their best logic in the monarch's favour, that, the Bishop says, (upon the authority of Colonel Drummond, who, being accidentally present, was invited by his superior officer to stay the conference) he 'plainly had the better of them at their own weapon,

(the Covenant), and upon their own principles.'

The proceeding of the Commons for the proposed extraordinary judicial solemnity, was, in the first instance, by ordinance for attainting the King of *high treason!*—and trying him by Commissioners named, to the number of an hundred and fifty. And to this ordinance was tacked a declaration—'That, by the fundamental laws of the realm, it was treason in the King of England, for the time to come, to levy war against the Parliament and people of England.' After the second reading, both were sent up to the few Lords who now assembled in the Upper House, for their concurrence: but these, justly alarmed and unhappy at the sad issue of the struggle in which they had at first so readily taken part, unanimously rejected them, by a vote recorded in their journal; and farther agreed, with a view at least to delay the melancholy catastrophe, that their answer should be conveyed to the Commons by messengers of their own; and that, it was understood, not until the ensuing Thursday se'nnight, to which day they adjourned. But the Commons, fired at what they affected to treat as the Peers' contempt, deputed some members to search the journal of the Upper House: when the above votes being by them reported, they resolved—'That all members of the House of Commons,

&c. &c. be empowered and enjoined to sit, act, and execute in the several committees, of themselves, *notwithstanding the House of Peers joined not with them therein.*' And they farther 'ordered, that the ordinance and declaration be in the name of the Commons only.' Two days afterward, (viz. January 4, 1649), the ordinance was read a third time, and passed: the House resolving—'That the people, under God, are the originals of all just power;'—'That the Commons, being chosen by, and representing the people, have the supreme authority of this nation;'—and—'That whatsoever is enacted and declared law by the Commons of England, in Parliament assembled, hath the force of law, and all the people of this nation are included thereby, although the consent and concurrence of the King and House of Peers be not had thereunto.' The great seal of England was then ordered to be broken in pieces, and another to be graven, with the map of England, Ireland, &c., the arms of England and Ireland, and the words, 'The Great Seal of England,' on one side; and an elevation of the House of Commons, with the words, 'In the first year of Freedom, by God's blessing Restored,' on the other.

The afflicted King was now re-conducted to his capital, for a purpose that, at one period, would have seemed of all others most unlikely

to be contemplated—to take his trial at the bar of his subjects. The residence of Sir Robert Cotton, by the river-side, was appointed him for the intervening time; and accordingly he was escorted thither by water. On this occasion, a characteristic incident is related by Sir Purbeck Temple, who was one of the judges named by the Commons, but refused to act.—His narration, given in evidence on the trial of Henry Marten, the regicide, after the Restoration, is to the effect that, having concealed himself behind the hangings of the room in which the Commissioners were met to determine on the mode of trial, in such manner as to be able both to see and hear what passed, news came that the King was landed at Sir Robert Cotton's stairs: when Cromwell ran to a window, which overlooked the water, to observe him as he came up the garden, and '*returned as white as the wall!*'—exclaiming to the board—'My masters, he is come! he is come! and now are we doing that great work that the nation will be full of. Therefore, I desire you, let us resolve here what answer we shall give the King when he comes before us: for the first question he will ask of us will be, *by what authority and commission we do try him?*' To which, 'none answered presently;' but, 'after a little space, Henry Marten rose up, and said, "In the name of the Commons and Parliament

assembled, and all the good people of England.'" What a picture have we of the state of Cromwell's mind in this simple circumstance! However others might be deluded into the crime they were about to commit, by unfeigned though erring notions of duty or necessity, to him the just bearing of the case was manifest. He knew they could possess no 'authority or commission' to adjudge their sovereign; his late conduct had evinced, that he was sensible of the line that should be drawn between the lawful deposition (in very extraordinary circumstances) of a King, and his secret or formal murder;—and every feeling, that could be prompted by native humanity, or the deepest sense of religion, aroused by a glimpse of the unhappy monarch, whom, in spite of his convictions, he had resolved on devoting to destruction, he 'returned as white as the wall;' and his exclamation, 'My masters, he is come! he is come!'—with the pertinent question to the Board that followed it—may be supposed to have escaped him with a degree of pathos, an affecting solemnity, which, together with his very unusual hurry of manner, and paleness of countenance, had so staggering an effect upon the assembly, that none could 'answer presently,' but all shrunk appalled for the moment from the awful business they had taken in hand.

On Saturday, the 20th of January, the trial came on in Westminster-hall. The act of the Commons was first read, by which the Court was constituted, and the names of the Commissioners called over. Cromwell was present, with others, to the number of about half those who had been appointed: Fairfax, and the judges of the land, were among the absentees. The King very unceremoniously regarded the Commissioners upon his entrance, and sat covered while the first forms were gone through. "CHARLES STUART" was then arraigned for "high treason, in levying war against the Parliament, and the people therein represented:" and Bradshaw, a serjeant-at-law, who officiated as 'lord-president,' demanded "what answer he had to make to that impeachment?" After a slight pause, Cromwell's own prophetic words, from the King's mouth, denying the authority by which he was to be tried, broke the awful silence of the court. Bradshaw replied, by admonishing him to treat them with more respect; and reminding him of the danger of allowing his contempt to be recorded. But Charles persisted in his refusal to acknowledge his judges, and therefore was summarily remanded till Monday, the 22d.

SECOND DAY.

The King was formally told, that the autho-

rity by which he was tried, was "the Commons of England in Parliament assembled." Charles entered into an argument, so far as he was permitted, upon the doctrine laid down; and among his most remarkable expressions were the following:—"A King cannot be tried by any superior jurisdiction on earth. But," he continued, "it is not my case alone—it is the freedom and liberty of the people of England: for, if power, without law, may make laws, and alter the fundamental laws of the kingdom, I do not know what subject he is in England that can be sure of his life, or any thing he calls his own."—"I do not know a King may be a delinquent, by any law that ever I heard of."—"The Commons of England were never a court of judicature." After more in the same strain, on both sides, the proceedings took the following form:

President. If this be all that you will say, then, Gentlemen, you that brought the prisoner here, take charge of him back again.

King. I do require, that I may give in my reasons, why I do not answer; and give me time for that.

President. It is not for *prisoners* to require.

King. Prisoners!—Sir, I am not an ordinary prisoner.

President. The Court has considered of their jurisdiction, and they have already affirmed their jurisdiction. If you will not answer, we will give order to record your default.

King. You never heard my reasons yet.

President. Sir, your reasons are not to be heard against the highest jurisdiction.

King. Shew me that jurisdiction where reason is not to be heard.

President. Sir, we shew it you here—the Commons of England. And the next time you are brought, you will know more of the pleasure of the Court; and, it may be, their final determination.

King. Shew me wherever the House of Commons were a Court of Judicature of that kind.

President. Serjeant, take away the prisoner.

King. Well, Sir, remember that the King is not suffered to give in his reasons for the liberty and freedom of all his subjects.

President. Sir, you have not liberty to use this language. How great a friend you have been to the laws and liberties of the people, let all England, and the world, judge.

King. Sir, under favour, it was the liberty, freedom, and laws of the subject, that I ever took to defend myself with arms. I never took up arms against the people, but for the laws.

President. The command of the Court must be obeyed. No answer will be given to the charge.

King. Well, Sir. (*The King was then remanded to Sir Robert Cotton's house, and the Court adjourned till the morrow.*)

THIRD DAY.

Cook, the Solicitor, moved the Court, that the King's not answering to the charge might be taken *pro confesso*, and speedy judgment pronounced. The President then required the King to "give a positive and final answer in plain English:" to which Charles, after a pause,

replied, by asking whether he might yet speak freely, or not, "for the liberties of the people of England?" The freedom was denied him: notwithstanding which, he repeated his former arguments somewhat at large. He was interrupted:

President. Sir, you must know the pleasure of the Court.

King. By your favour, Sir—

President. Nay, Sir, by your favour, you may not be permitted to fall into these discourses. You appear as a delinquent: you have not acknowledged the authority of the Court: the Court craves it not of you, but once more they *command* you, to give your positive answer.—Clerk, do your duty.

King. Duty, Sir! (*The Clerk read a paper, requiring the King to give a positive and final answer, by way of confession or denial of the charge.*)

King. Sir, I say again to you, so that I might give satisfaction to the people of England of the clearness of my proceedings—not by way of answer, not in this way—but to satisfy them that I have done nothing against that trust that I have committed to me, I would do it: but to acknowledge a new Court against their privileges, to alter the fundamental laws of the kingdom, Sir, you must excuse me.

President. Sir, this is the third time that you have publicly disowned this Court, and put an affront upon it. How far you have preserved the privileges of the people, your actions have spoke it; and truly, Sir, men's intentions are known by their actions. You have written your meaning in bloody characters throughout the whole kingdom. But, Sir, you understand the pleasure of the Court:—Clerk, record the default:—and, Gentlemen, you that took charge of the prisoner, take him back again.

King. I will say this, this one word more to you. If it were my own particular, I would not say more, nor interrupt you—

President. Sir, you have heard the pleasure of the Court; and you are (notwithstanding you will not understand it) to find that you are before a Court of Justice.

(*Remanded to Sir Robert Cotton's house.*)

The *fourth day* was occupied in examining witnesses in the Painted Chamber; *(p)* the King not being present. On the *fifth*, Charles demanded to be heard by the Lords and Commons, in general assembly; and the Court withdrew for half an hour, (some say an hour), to consider of his request in the Court of Wards.

In this apartment, (which was adapted to the jurisdiction its name describes, and of which some mention occurs under *(u)* in the Appendix) considerable debate took place among the judges. Two of the number, named Downes and Wayte, who were subsequently tried with the other surviving regicides at the Restoration, related in their defence some circumstances of Cromwell's behaviour upon this consultation, which cannot be too cautiously received; since their evidence was that of interested persons, who must so naturally have been tempted to follow the then prevailing fashion, that of every one's endeavouring his own justification by blackening the memory of the deceased Pro-

tector. The narrations of these two persons, may be reduced to the points—that Cromwell 'answered with a great deal of storm' a proposition to grant the King's request; and that he 'laughed, smiled, and jeered' at some attempts to dispute the justice or legality of the proceedings. That, to conceal his secret compunction, he affected both heat and levity in the Court of Wards, is rendered probable by his behaviour upon another occasion, to be related; but, while we allow this, let us not, in justice to him, forget the extreme probability, that the stories of all the convicted renegades of this assembly, in so far as they regard him, were marked with every feature of exaggeration.

On returning into court, the President informed the King that they were resolved to proceed to judgment. Charles reminded them of an "old sentence,"—*we should think long, before we resolve on great matters suddenly*,"—and farther requested the delay of a day or two: at the same time reiterating his desire to be heard by the Lords and Commons, in the Painted Chamber, or any other chamber they might appoint. Ludlow says, he was informed that the King meant, if his wish had been complied with, 'to propose his own resignation, and the admission of his son to the throne, upon such terms as should have been agreed upon.'

In the repeated expression of this wish alone, did Charles appear to waver from his resolution of utterly denying that he was amenable to his subjects; and it does seem probable, that in the matter conjectured consisted the 'something he had to say for the peace of the kingdom, and liberty of the subject.' The President, however, replied only by requiring to know whether he had any thing more to say for himself, before they proceeded to sentence?

King. I have nothing more to say; but I shall desire that this may be entered, what I have said.

President. The Court, then, Sir, hath something to say to you, which I know will be very unacceptable; yet, notwithstanding, they are willing and resolved to discharge their duty.

King. I will desire only one word before you give sentence; and that is, that you would hear me concerning those great imputations that you have laid to my charge.

President. Sir, you must give me leave to go on. For I am not far from your sentence, and your time is now past.

King. But I desire you will hear me a few words to you: for truly, whatever sentence you will put upon me, in respect of those heavy imputations that I see by your speech you have put upon me—Sir, it is very true that—

(The President interrupted him, repeating that he had not owned them as a Court, and that therefore they would admit of no farther delay; concluding:

President. We are not here *jus dare,* but *jus dicere.* We cannot be unmindful of what the Scripture tells us. For, *to acquit the guilty, is of equal abomination as to condemn the innocent.* We may not acquit the guilty. What

sentence the law affirms to a traitor, murderer, and a public enemy of the country, that sentence you are now to hear read unto you, and that is the sentence of the Court.

(The Clerk read the sentence, concluding:

Clerk. For all which treasons and crimes, this Court doth adjudge, That he, CHARLES STUART, *as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy, shall be put to death, by severing of his head from his body.*

President. The sentence now read and published is the act, sentence, judgment, and resolution, of the whole Court.

(In witness of which, they all stood up and gave their assent.)

King. Will you hear me a word, Sir?

President. Sir, you are not to be heard after sentence.

King. No, Sir!

President. No, Sir; by your favour, Sir. Guard, withdraw your prisoner.

King. I may speak after sentence, by your favour, Sir—I may speak after sentence ever—by your favour—the sentence, Sir—I say, Sir, I do——I am not suffered to speak—expect what justice other people will have.

(These imperfect sentences were spoken by the King, as the guards were forcing him away.)

Both going and returning, the last day, the King was subjected to the lowest species of abuse, more particularly from the soldiers, who were vehement in their cries of "*justice!*" and "*execution!*"—and some even personally insulted him. Charles bore all with patience and meekness, yet relinquished nothing of the majesty of his general demeanour: he appeared a pattern of royalty, self-sustained, and deriving added lustre from Christian greatness.

To complete the dreadful tragedy, it was necessary that the Judges should sign and seal the warrant for the monarch's execution. *(q)* Cromwell's name stands third upon the list; the first being the President's, '*Jo. Bradshaw*,' and the second, '*Tho. Grey*.' This ceremony appears to have been gone through with, on the day previous to that of the execution, in the Painted Chamber. Cromwell, to hide the perturbation of his soul, enacted his part with an affectation of *sport*:—as an instance of which, a servant of Henry Marten's stated (on the trial of Marten before alluded to) that, following his master into the Painted Chamber, where the other judges were then signing the warrant, he saw Cromwell, before he subscribed his signature, mark Marten with his pen on the face; a joke which Marten returned by marking Cromwell in the same manner! Marten himself did not deny this; but merely replied, on the counsel for the prosecution noticing it as a proof of 'malice' in the prisoner, that it did not 'imply *malice*.' A great soul, reduced to the necessity of concealing its distress, its secret horrors, by tricks so pitiful, were a subject for our sincerest commiseration, could we forget the crime, by the contemplation of which, that distress, and those horrors, were occasioned it.

Many other things related of Cromwell as

affecting this period, on the trials of the different regicides at the Restoration, were, no doubt, as already observed, greatly exaggerated, or perhaps wholly invented, for the purpose of paying court to the ruling sovereign: and this was particularly likely to be the case with the statements made by the regicides themselves, for their own exculpation. *(r)* But the facts here recorded, as given on Marten's trial, being parts of the evidence of mere witnesses, whose interests could not be greatly affected by its issue, are, on that account alone, much better entitled to credibility. Still, it is repeated, many other of those statements were grossly false, as appears even upon the face of them; although several subsequent writers, the historian Hume not excepted, have been content to retail them without examination. Such, for one, must be considered the tale of Cromwell and Ireton's hindering Fairfax from rescuing Charles from the scaffold, by detaining him while Major-general Harrison made a long prayer 'to know the Lord's mind in the thing,' and at the same time sending a private messenger to hasten the execution; so that, before this prayer was ended, information came that the King was no more, and the General was thereupon easily persuaded that this 'was a full return of prayer,' and that 'God having so manifested his pleasure, they were to acquiesce in

it.' But, so far from this being the case, Fairfax, though he refused to take part in the King's trial, himself dispatched the soldiers to attend his execution: conceiving, perhaps, that, as General-in-chief, he was bound to support by the military power that civil authority in the Parliament, which, as it was the authority whence he derived his own commission, he always shewed a disposition to respect, to the extent the turbulent humours of his Army would permit him.*

As to the trial and execution of Charles themselves, they were acts, which no conceived necessity could excuse, nor any arguments, founded on that necessity, or otherwise, justify. By the law of our land, from the full benefit of which the sovereign surely should not be excluded, no individual, however low or however exalted may be his station, must be tried but by *his equals*: and if it be said, that the sovereign has no equals, and that therefore, whatever errors or crimes he may commit, he must, agreeably to such doctrine,

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* In the Convention Parliament, that prepared the way for the Restoration, Fairfax ingenuously declared, that 'if any person must be *excepted* from pardon for the death of the King, he knew of no man that deserved it more than himself, who, being General of the Army, and having power sufficient to prevent the proceedings against the King, had not thought fit to use it to that end.'—LUDLOW.

remain unpunished, it might be contended that the law also, when it asserts that 'the King can do wrong,' has said so much. But the law need not, perhaps, be resorted to, to rid us of this difficulty: neither, indeed, can the law be supposed, contrary to common sense, to mean literally that the King must, whatever be his delinquency, continue to practise it with impunity. *(s)* The argument probably should be, that the King has *one only* legal equal—the great body of society, collectively taken, which he governs: and Blackstone plainly infers this, in saying, 'whenever a question arises between the society at large, and any magistrate vested with powers originally delegated by that society, it must be decided by the voice of the society itself: there is not upon earth any other tribunal to resort to.' Accordingly, Charles's appeal would justly lie from his judges to his whole people: and it thence follows, that his judges must have made such an appeal, and have received the people's sanction of their mode of trial, before *they* could possess a right to pass, and of their judgment, before *they* could lawfully execute, any sentence upon him. For, let it be granted that the Commons legally represented the people—still, neither the Commons, nor the Lords and King himself in conjunction with them, though they had received from the people authority to execute the

known laws, and to frame new ones at their discretion, could claim the power to destroy a vital branch of the government, which the people (*de jure*, if not *de facto*) must be presumed to have constituted—the people alone, who had so constituted that government, could claim such a power. From all which it may be assumed, that, previously to any capital proceedings against Charles, an appeal to every Englishman in the land should have been made; and the majority of voices, as in the case of the Parliament by which every Englishman is supposed (for purposes strictly legislative) to be represented, have decided the question. If it be asked, who were the persons qualified to make such an appeal, in default of the Commons, who, it is asserted, with such objects in view, ought to have made it?—any man in the kingdom, in its then state, it may be answered, who could find in himself, his authority, and influence, but a rational probability of the power.* And to whom will the description of such a man apply more than to Cromwell, who, for any purposes but those of his individual

* The age has passed, when appeals of this nature to the great body of a people could be considered as ridiculous or impracticable. Buonaparte, whose genius in more respects than one resembled Cromwell's, adopted the principle of such appeals in repeated instances, and with success.

exaltation—for which the times were not yet ripe—was, by confession even of the jealous republican Ludlow, the head 'of the grandees, both of the House and Army;' or, in other words, since his influence overtopped that of all others in the former, and either led or triumphed over the will of his superior, Fairfax, in the latter, the chief depositary of both the civil and military sway? The appeal, it is repeated, therefore, should have been made by him: its danger, as before observed, should have been no consideration with one, who professed to be guided by the loftiest views of religion and patriotism, and who was moreover evidently conscious, that the opposite course of conduct he pursued was directly contrary to them both. And that the step thus recommended would have been only natural to him, and to the station he then filled, may be inferred from the inconsistencies he was led into by its neglect. For because, as he too willingly permitted himself to think, he could no longer befriend his King, he became the most efficiently active of his enemies; and, when his conscience brought the baseness of the apostacy before his view, he played by turns the hypocrite and the jester, to veil it from the world and from himself. True, it might have consisted with no views of patriotism, or sound policy, to have again placed the reins of government in the King's

hands. But allowing that, so long as the monarch lived, the danger of his former power being one day restored to him would not cease to exist—and add, that Cromwell's personal safety would be hazarded, at least, by such a restoration—still, no apprehension of prospective evils could excuse the commission of a present glaring injustice; nor could even the darkly conveyed intimation of a future and uncertain vengeance, once meditated by Charles, and which had become known to Cromwell, in any christian or patriotic sense, have authorised his immediately heading the conspiracy that had been formed against his sovereign's life. The most critical moment of his existence was this; and it escaped him worse than unimproved. Through his use of it, both himself, and the whole band of patriots who so nobly commenced with him their political career, have been branded in all succeeding years with the names of traitors, regicides, usurpers; and the death of Charles has lain as a blot upon their fame, obscuring all the worthiness of their original intentions, and all the virtue of their first conduct. By his use of it, he facilitated, indeed, his way to a *throne*, which it shortened his days to preserve to himself, in perpetual anxiety, during their troubled remnant; and which, at his death, reverted to the despotically-principled family from whom it was taken. But, had he

successfully interposed himself as a shield from the factious republicans for a monarch, too amiable as a man to be unworthy to live, though too vicious as a king to be yet worthy to reign, it was more than possible, in the then circumstances of the nation, that the hearts of a grateful and admiring people, touched by such noble intrepidity, true dignity, and attractive clemency, would have made the same throne his; —to possess, not only in usefulness and honour, but in peace;—and from him to be transmitted to a posterity that might still adorn it. And who (that reverences as he ought the rights, solely founded on the national conference, of the present King of England) shall say, that a throne so won, and so transmitted, would not have been *legitimate?*

Charles, in a declaration he had framed of his reasons for disallowing the authority of the court at whose bar he was arraigned, but which he was prevented from delivering, observes, that 'admitting the people's commission could grant this power,' (to bring him to trial), 'the poorest ploughman was manifestly wronged, his free consent not demanded:' a principle as sound, as his forced and arbitrary contruction of the text—'Where the word of a King is, there is power; and who may say unto him, what doest thou?'—was the contrary. Yet Charles was justified in wresting scripture to

his purpose, if any thing could justify it, by the practice of the republican fanatics; who were ever ready with 'line upon line, and precept upon precept,' to prove 'that the Lord had rejected the King,' and that they were in conscience bound to destroy him. It is apparent, however, from this intended declaration, that he maintained to the last his doctrines of divine right, passive obedience, and non-resistance; and his so doing argues more than his bitterest enemies could then advance, for his deposition, though not for his death. But, nothing in his whole life 'became him like the leaving of it.' Indeed, his courage and fortitude upon his trial, during the intervening days between it and his execution, and at the last awful hour, were such, as evinced that his intentions must have been upright in the main, to enable him to draw from them, as he did, his latest earthly consolations; and that his errors had arisen more from greatly too exalted notions of the extent and irresponsibility of his kingly power, than from any inherent disposition to abuse it. Much indecent mockery and insult were cast upon him, at every opportunity, by the lowest of the soldiery and the mob, from the time of his last arrival in London, till his unhappy exit from every scene of worldly woe and splendour: but to all this, their superiors, it must be observed, were no parties. These, on the con-

trary, President Bradshaw alone perhaps excepted, never failed in outward respect, at least, toward him. The Commons even voted five hundred pounds, to defray the expences of his funeral; which took place in St. George's Chapel, Windsor: where, not many years back, (1813), his coffin was discovered; and, being opened in the presence of his present Majesty, and others, his body was found in a state of perfect preservation. Hume, copying from a writer in that instance incorrect, states that, on the night previous to his execution, he slept sound as usual, 'though the noise of the workmen employed in framing the scaffold continually resounded in his ears.' This must have been said, upon the supposition that Charles remained at Whitehall from the time the sentence was passed, till the morning he was executed: but the fact was, that he was removed from thence to St. James's the morning previously, (till when the place of execution was not so much as determined on); and that he walked on the fatal day through the Park to his former customary residence, in front of which the awful ceremony was to be performed, attended by his private guard, his gentlemen, bare-headed, and Dr. Juxon, (the late Bishop of London), the whole guarded by a regiment of foot soldiers. Lord Clarendon sums up his panegyric, perhaps without much exaggeration, as to the latter period

of his life at least, thus: 'He was the worthiest gentleman, the best master, the best friend, the best husband, the best father, and the best christian, that the age in which he lived produced: and, if he was not the greatest king—if he were without some parts and qualities, (indeed he was lamentably deficient in them), which have made some kings great and happy—no other prince was ever unhappy, who was possessed of half his virtues and endowments, and so much without any kind of vice.'

CHAPTER VIII.

FROM THE ABOLITION OF ROYALTY TO CROMWELL'S APPOINTMENT TO BE CAPTAIN-GENERAL OF THE ARMY.

The Commons abolish Royalty and the House of Lords—Appoint a *Council of State*, Cromwell to be of the Number—Reflections—Cromwell constituted Lord-Governor of Ireland—Arrives at Dublin—Storms Drogheda—Massacre of the Garrison—Reflections upon that Event, and upon Irish History—Cromwell's Triumphant Career—Re-called by the Parliament to Oppose an Expected Invasion of the Scots—His Interview with Fairfax—Appointed Captain-General upon the Resignation of the Latter—Conference with Ludlow—Design against his Life, and his Magnanimity upon the Occasion—Observation upon Mrs. Hutchinson's Relation of the Circumstances.

On the very day of the late King's execution, the Commons, by act, forbade the proclamation of any other king. A week afterward, they voted the House of Peers to be 'useless and dangerous;' and directed an act to be framed for its abolition. Next day, they resolved,—'that it had been found by experience, and the House did declare, that the office of King in this nation, and to have the power thereof in any single person, was unnecessary, burden-

some, and dangerous to the liberty, safety, and public interest of the people of this nation, and therefore ought to be abolished.' Forty of the members were at the same time appointed to form a *Council of State;* legal writs from whom should issue by the style of 'The Keepers of the Liberty of England;' but their general executive acts were to be guided by instructions from the House. They were to be entitled, 'The Committee of Estates appointed by Parliament:' seals were ordered them, bearing that inscription, and the arms of England and Ireland: and their powers, which were to last for one year, were enacted to be, 'to command and settle the militia of England and Ireland; to set forth a navy; to appoint magazines and stores, and to dispose them;' &c. Among their names, we find those of Cromwell, Bradshaw, Whitelock, Marten, and Ludlow, commoners; with those of eight lords, including Fairfax, and the Earls of Denbigh, Mulgrave, Salisbury, and Pembroke. How little the true principles of constitutional government were as yet understood, will be seen from this last proceeding. The Parliament had retained every branch of the executive power in their own hands, from the commencement of their contest with Charles, to the time when, the failures and disgraces attached to that system having convinced them of its inexpediency, as to their military af-

fairs at least, they had contrived their escape by the 'Self-denying Ordinance;' and by conferring highly dangerous military supremacy upon a single commander, not attached to either House, Sir Thomas Fairfax. But not yet convinced, even by the necessity that had existed for creating 'determinating committees' without end, (to settle such matters as properly devolve to a distinct executive,) of the political anomaly presented by a large assembly of men, supposed to combine in themselves the qualities of extensive and cautious deliberation, together with prompt perception of the time and circumstances for vigorous and decisive action, they now surrendered up the general branches of executive power to a 'Council of State,' while they virtually rescinded their own appointment, by requiring the acts of this council to be governed by 'instructions' from themselves. None yet perceived, that the only way to prevent, so far as human provisions can prevent, the assumption of undue authority by either of the constituent parts of a government, is to subject each to the constant operation of *check*, but neither to that of *command*, from the others. By some subsequent acts, it was made 'high treason for any person to endeavour to promote Charles Stuart to be King of England, or any other single person to be Chief Governor thereof;' and 'high treason,' also, for soldiers

'to contrive the death of their General, or *Lieutenant-general*, or to endeavour to raise mutinies in the Army.' And, to put the finishing hand to their work, the Commons ordered the statues of the late King, at St. Paul's and the Royal Exchange, to be taken down; and, in the niche where stood the latter, they caused to be inscribed: EXIT TYRANNUS REGUM ULTIMUS.

About six months after Charles's death, Cromwell departed for Ireland, with a commission, passed under the new great seal, investing him with the office of 'Lord Governor of that kingdom for three years, with full powers in all affairs, both civil and military:' the Parliament having resolved, through his anticipated diligence and vigour, to subdue the distractions of that unhappy country, and bring the war there, which had now lasted eight years, to a speedy and successful close. In this island, (as also in Scotland), Prince Charles had already been proclaimed King: in Ireland, indeed, the Parliament's authority had never been generally acknowledged; and Londonderry and Dublin were the only places that now held out for them, the latter of which was closely besieged by the Marquis of Ormond. But, as the appointment of the Lieutenant-general to this service, it was thought, might give umbrage to Lord Fairfax, who would naturally expect it for himself, the

House resolved, that, while Cromwell, (in his military capacity,) was to be 'Commander-in-chief of all the forces in Ireland,' his Lordship should be styled 'General of all the forces of the Parliament, both in England and Ireland.'—Commissary-general Ireton was constituted second in command to his father-in-law. On appearing in the House the day after that on which its pleasure had been signified to him, formally to accept his new office, Cromwell is said to have been full of confusion and irresolution; his expressions of unworthiness and inability to support so great a charge, hesitating and perplexed; and his whole demeanour that of a man overwhelmed with the conference of some unexpected dignity, or important place of trust. At the same time, he professed, that 'the difficulty which appeared in the expedition, was his chief motive for engaging in it; and that he hardly expected to prevail over the rebels, but only to preserve to the commonwealth some footing in that kingdom.' It would be uncandid to deny, that any recurrence of the modesty and humility once habitual to him, and which retained their influence over his conduct in privacy to the termination of his future splendid career, was possible to him on this occasion: still, it is very probable, that he could favour and heighten the exhibition of those qualities, at this and other times, when it might

suit his purposes. But certain it is, that their reality, or mere display, never impeded his assiduous prosecution of either public or private business. By the admission of an adversary, the promptitude with which 'he raised money, provided shipping, and drew together forces,' for his Irish campaign, was 'incredible.' 'At his setting out,' says another writer, 'he was drawn in a coach with six horses, and attended by many members of the Parliament, and Council of State, with the chief of the Army: his life-guard consisting of eighty men, who had formerly been commanders, all bravely mounted and accoutered, both them and their servants.' But neither did the pomps of his new appointment, nor his extensive warlike preparations, supersede that attention to the interests of religion, he never failed so conspicuously to manifest: for, just prior to his embarkation, he addressed letters to the House, proffering for their consideration some impressions, which at that moment more peculiarly attached themselves to his mind, of the desirableness of removing 'penal statutes, that enforced the consciences of honest, conscientious men.' *(t)*

On joining the Army at Milford Haven, the place selected for the general rendezvous, his first care was to dispatch three regiments for the relief of Dublin: assisted by which, Colonel Jones, the Governor there, surprised and en-

tirely routed the Marquis of Ormond and his besieging army. On the 15th of August, 1649, Cromwell himself reached the Irish capital. On the 30th, he took the field; and, before nine days were elapsed, had obtained a greater footing in the island, through his successes, and the terrors they inspired, than had been known to the Protestant party since the commencement of the war. He had taken Drogheda, (then called Tredagh); and—it is painful to add—deliberately put the garrison, together with the Romish ecclesiastics found in the place, to the sword: but the consternation he thereby excited throughout the country, rendered the rest of his work comparatively easy. Trim, and Dundalk, places both capable of making protracted defences, were immediately abandoned by their garrisons: fear, magnifying all his sterner attributes, preceded, and victory accompanied him, to the close of his succeeding progress. Every place that ventured upon resistance, was, with almost magic rapidity, carried by assault; a mode of attack, to which Cromwell appears to have been particularly partial. And, in fine, by storm, and fire, and a celerity of movements from one castle or town to another such as perhaps had never been before known in the conduct of an European army; by repetitions of his military severities, upon the contumacious; and by well-timed

clemency, in repeated instances, toward the submissive; he, in less than nine months from his arrival, (the time occupied in winter quarters included,) not merely 'performed,' as one author observes, 'more than any sovereign of England had been able to do in a much greater number of years,' but proceeded so far in the entire reduction of the island, that, upon his recall by the Parliament to conduct another and yet more important service, Ireton, whom he left his deputy, was scarcely hindered in completing the conquest of his father-in-law: a conquest, that established the English authority upon a firmer basis than at any previous period it had possessed.

But nothing that can possibly be advanced in favour of Cromwell's too generally executioner-like career in Ireland, can exculpate him from the charge of cruelty, nay, of actual ferocity, in the military slaughter of nearly 3000 men within the walls of a subdued town, which he directed, and personally superintended, at Drogheda. The only ground, and even that an unchristian one, on which candour might at first suppose him to have proceeded in this instance of savage warfare—retaliation upon the deluded bigots who began the rebellion by massacre—is not so expressly advanced by him, as it is left to be understood, in his relation to the Speaker of the event. For, in that document,

after acknowledging that, in pursuance of his orders, 'they put to the sword about 2000 men the first night they entered;' and that 'the next day, one of the towers which had held out having submitted, their officers were knocked on the head, and every tenth man of the soldiers killed, and the rest shipped for the Barbadoes;' he merely takes upon himself to be '*perswaded*,' that this, his self-derived act of authority over the lives of his fellow-creatures, was 'a righteous judgment of GOD upon the barbarous wretches, who had imbrued their hands in so much innocent blood:' and appears to rest his defence chiefly upon the politic consideration, that this 'judgment would tend to prevent the effusion of blood for the future; which,' he continues, 'are the satisfactory grounds (*i. e.* the persuasion he mentions, and the consequences he predicts) to such actions; which, otherwise, cannot but work remorse and regret.' Perhaps the utmost that can be said for Cromwell on this head, is, that he acted but in the spirit, so general among the English in that age, of vengeance toward the persons, property, and above all the religion, of the Irish; and that his enthusiasm, in Ireland alone unmercifully intolerant, really did lead him to conceive himself appointed by the Almighty, though he ventured not to aver so much, to the work of Pro-

testant retribution for the then recent Catholic massacre. Pity it is, that Cromwell, and the other more zealous protestants of that, the same as of subsequent times, and even of the present day, did not recollect, that though persecution, more particularly directed to the Irish *Catholics*, to deprive them of the inheritances of their fathers, and to induce their renunciation of a religion which had been professed by the immediate ancestors of the English of that period themselves, had given a *religious tone*, as it had become the immediate spur, to that long-gathering rebellion which at length burst forth in massacre—yet that those general *political* cruelties, of which such persecution formed only a part, that had been heaping, with but little intermission, upon universal Ireland, ever since the conquest of the country by Henry the Second, had alone generated it. And should not the same bigoted warmth, with which the English of those times espoused their principles of Protestantism, have led them (had that been possible) to conceive of the sacredness of character, with which, by the defence of *religion along with liberty*, the rise in arms of entire Catholic Hibernia was, in her own eyes, invested? And should not the semi-barbarous ignorance of the Irish, which the English government had all along strove, not to remove, but, (with a view to the more complete

subjugation of the natives,) to foster and perpetuate, have accounted, to dispassionate minds, for a nation so circumstanced not being *prepared* for protestantism ; as well as for its incapacity to appreciate moral obligations, in the moment of a revenge that was to compensate for the wrongs of a succession of centuries? *(u)*

But Cromwell seems willing to let the exculpation of his conduct, as to the proceedings at Drogheda, rest, in great degree, upon the simple ground of military expediency : agreeably to his own exposition of it, it was to *prevent* the effusion of blood, that he had been led to *shed* it mercilessly. Alas ! expediency, as to the ends of retributive justice, public example, future good consequences, &c. &c., has thus been made a ground of violence to the lives of men, such as no moral principles can justify, on the part of both nations and individuals in power, of all professions of faith, and in all ages. The Catholics of Ireland, no doubt, conceived it *expedient* to root out of the land that petty band of foreign taskmasters, who had for ages afflicted them with a worse than Egyptian bondage; as their Protestant oppressors had thought it *expedient* to retain them in slavery, while they insisted upon their free adoption of a purer faith: and Catholicism and Protestantism being in so far seen to have acted upon a common principle, it may be thought hard

that, up to the existing moment, Catholicism, as a religion, should be alone charged with the commission of crimes, that may be distinctly traced to the operation of political causes, or of common human passions, on the mind. The ultimate truth, as regards the times on which we are descanting, is, that though to say the Irish were catholics and rebels, was then held to be a sufficient excuse for any acts of violence and oppression exercised toward them, yet that one main ground of those violences and oppressions was, the convenience of making 'Ireland the great capital out of which all debts were paid, all services rewarded, and all acts of bounty performed.*'—'It cannot be imagined,' it has been observed, 'in how easy a method, and with what peaceable formality, this whole great kingdom was' (once again) 'taken from the just lords and proprietors, and divided and given among those, who had no other right to it, but that they had power to keep it.'† The observation following, in the same writer, that the Parliament, and their abettors in the island, at one time 'intended the *utter extirpation* of the whole nation,' may be too strongly expressed: yet it would appear singular, if measures approaching to the

* Lord Clarendon. † Ibid.

very last degrees of severity had not been both contemplated and practised, that the House, among the reasons stated by them for passing their act for 'Settling Ireland,' should give, in the preamble, this,—'that the people of that nation might *know*, that it is *not* the intention of the Parliament to extirpate that whole nation.'* Another author, speaking of the part performed by Cromwell in this particular, gives it as his opinion, that to his division of the Catholics' lands in Ireland among the officers and soldiers of his Army, 'we owe that kingdom's being a Protestant kingdom at this day, and its continuing subject to the crown of England.'† The truth of such an opinion cannot possibly be substantiated; and if it could, it would afford no proof of the justice or clemency of his or the Parliament's military or legislative conduct. One thing is clear; that no name in history is so familiar to the memories of even the common Irish to this day, and no name so universally execrated, as that of Cromwell. In England, he is undoubtedly remembered too little to his praise; but in Ireland, (where he is even yet much oftener spoken of), it must be allowed that, while he laid the foun-

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* Scobel's Collections. This passage is cited by Dr. Harris, in grave confutation of Lord Clarendon's statement!

† Lord Molesworth: Preface to Holloman's Franco-Gallia.

dations of some civil improvements, (the abolition of feudality in particular,) and of considerable increase to the prosperity of the Protestant settlers there, he, by his military and other severities, left a fame, that will never die to posterity's justest horror and detestation.—Most singularly will our terror-striking Lord-governor's private letters, written during his progress in the island, and evincing as they do his habitual religious feelings, and the tenderest affections toward his family and friends in England, contrast with the mistaken zeal, the policy, or any other the supposed sources, of that public conduct, by which thousands were divested of every tie that had united *them* to their families, their homes, their country, and their existences. *(w)*

By his good government of the Army in Ireland, Whitelock observes, 'and the great success of it, and the well ordering of the civil affairs of that kingdom,' Cromwell had now obtained 'a very great interest, not only in the officers of the Army, but likewise in the Parliament, and Council of State, and with their whole (chiefly the Independent) party; only the Scots, and Presbyterians, were no favourers of him or his proceedings.' The Scots, common candour will allow, had never desired more than to moderate the power of the late King, and to complete the triumph of the religious

principles they had espoused. When, therefore, they beheld their monarch conducted to a public scaffold, and Presbyterianism no longer tyrannically paramount, as it had been, in the English Parliament, they had promptly adopted the measure of proclaiming Prince Charles King of Scotland, (determining however to make him a Presbyterian); and, within a twelvemonth after the death of his father, were known to be actively preparing an Army, to invade England, and support his pretensions to the English and Irish crowns. And however republican were the principles of a majority perhaps of the English Presbyterians, and however little their leaders had shewn any real disposition to restore the late King, until circumstances gave them power to choose only between such restoration and the irremediable defeat of their sectarian intrigues, it was now to be feared that numbers of them would attach themselves to their Scottish brethren, and to the cause of the young King, in order once more to obtain the unquestioned mastery of their Independent rivals. It was in the beginning of the year 1650, when Cromwell was in winter-quarters in Dublin, that tidings of what was going forward in Scotland reached the Parliament. The posture of affairs was alarming. However, the House adopted the vigorous resolution to arrest the blow, by

sending all the forces they could muster into the north, and thus divert the war from their own country :—when Fairfax, to whom, (in the absence of Cromwell,) application was made to head these troops, at once professed himself wholly averse to such a proceeding ; and was even suspected to be, through the influence of his lady, a rigid Presbyterian, more a friend to the Scots than to the Parliament his employers ! Independently of which, his aversion to the command of any new military enterprise may be plausibly derived out of the shame and offence he would so naturally take to himself, at perceiving how mere a cypher, from the amazing successes and popularity of his Lieutenant-general, he was become. In this dilemma, Cromwell was sent over for : and, upon his arrival in London, where he was received with every mark of gratitude and joy, being tolerably certain that Fairfax's disinclination was not likely to be overcome, the Council of State, at his instance, the more smoothly to carry things, and rid themselves of their present commander-in-chief with a grace, appointed a grave committee, with himself at its head, to confer with the General, and endeavour to remove his scruples. Confident in the event, Cromwell managed so entirely to conceal the elation, that must have arisen in the mind of any commonly ambitious man, at the near prospect of obtain-

ing the post of Captain-general of the Army—a post, that, in his hands, would almost necessarily comprise in itself nearly all the power and influence of the state—that his most intimate friends, and the closest of his observers, were deceived by him. Previously to the appointment of the committee, he earnestly pressed it upon his colleagues of the Council, that, notwithstanding the unwillingness of Fairfax to lead the forces into Scotland, they would yet '*continue him to be General of the Army ;*' professing for himself, that he would rather serve under him in his post, than command the greatest army in Europe. Here, says Ludlow, 'he acted his part so to the life, that I really thought him in earnest: which obliged me to step to him, as he was withdrawing with the rest of the committee out of the Council-chamber, (to proceed to Fairfax), and to desire him, that he would not, in compliment and humility, obstruct the service of the nation by his refusal; but the consequence made it sufficiently evident that he had no such intention.'

Upon the Committee's interview with Fairfax, (as Whitelock, who was one of them, informs us,) 'they went first to prayer, that God would direct them in this business; and Cromwell begun, and most of the Committee prayed:' after which, they proceeded to the matter in

hand. Fairfax grounded his unwillingness to invade Scotland, upon the provisions of the League and Covenant: when Cromwell, with sufficient force and clearness, now that he perceived they would have no effect—which with him was the effect intended—replied:

'I confess, my Lord, that if they have given us no cause to invade them, it will not be justifiable in us to do it; and to make war upon them without a sufficient ground, will be contrary to that which in conscience we ought to do, and displeasing to God and good men. But, my Lord, if they have invaded us, as your Lordship knows they have, *since* the national covenant, and *contrary* to it, in that action of the Duke of Hamilton, which was by order and authority from the Parliament of that kingdom, and so the act of the whole nation by their representatives; and if they now give us too much cause of suspicion that they intend another invasion upon us, joining with their King, with whom they have made a full agreement without the assent or privity of this commonwealth, and are very busy at this present in raising forces and money to carry on their design;—if these things are not a sufficient ground and cause for us to endeavour to provide for the safety of our own country, and to prevent the miseries which an invasion of the Scots would bring upon us, I humbly submit it to your Excellency's judgment. That they have formerly invaded us, and brought a war into the bowels of our country, is known to all; wherein God was pleased to bless us with success against them; and that they now intend a new invasion of us, I do as really believe, and have as good intelligence of, as we can of any thing not yet acted. Therefore I say, my lord, that, upon these grounds, I think we have a most just cause to begin, or rather to return and requite their hostility first begun upon us; and thereby to free our country,

(if God shall be pleased to assist us, and I doubt not but he will), from the great misery and calamity of having an Army of Scots within our country. That there will be a war between us, I fear is unavoidable. Your Excellency will soon determine, whether it is better to have this war in the bowels of another country or our own; and that it will be in one of them, I think it is without scruple.'

Fairfax contented himself with replying to all this, and to similar arguments from Whitelock and the rest of the Committee, that 'human probabilities were not sufficient grounds to make war upon a neighbour nation, especially their brethren of Scotland, to whom they were engaged in a solemn league and covenant.'—Cromwell, with as much dexterity as vehemence, still pressed him not to discontinue his command; but in vain: upon which, the Committee returned to the Council of State, and a formal report of the business was agreed to be made to Parliament. Which being done, Ludlow says, 'and some of the General's friends informing them, that though he had shewed some unwillingness to be employed in this expedition himself, yet being more unwilling to hinder the undertaking of it by another, he had sent his secretary, who attended at the door, to surrender his commission; if they thought fit to receive it, the secretary was called in, and delivered the commission: which the Parliament having received, they proceeded to settle an

annual revenue of five thousands pounds upon the Lord Fairfax, in consideration of his former services; and then voted Lieutenant-general Cromwell to be Captain-general of all their land forces; ordering a commission forthwith to be drawn up to that effect, and referred to the Council of State to hasten the preparations for the northern expedition.' Whitelock relates, that the vote for Cromwell's exaltation was carried through the House *nemine contradicente:* and that 'great ceremonies and congratulations were made to him from all sorts of people; and he went on roundly with his business.'*

Shortly afterward, Ludlow says, Cromwell, sitting near him in the House, told him, that, having observed an alteration in his looks and carriage toward him, he apprehended that he (Ludlow) entertained some *suspicions* of him:

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* From this period, no farther mention of Lord Fairfax occurs in our volume: indeed, as Mrs. Hutchinson remarks, 'he then died to all his former glory, and became the monument of his own name, which every day wore out.' The title is not yet extinct: the present Lord Fairfax being a clergyman, resident in the United States, where his ancestors had vast possessions, the major part of which, however, were lost at the separation of the colonies from the mother-country. His Lordship came to England in 1800, to claim his peerage, and take his seat in the House of Lords: which having effected, he again returned to America.

to which Ludlow answered, that Cromwell perceived in him what he had never discovered in himself. A private conference in the Queen's guard-chamber was then agreed upon. At which, Ludlow continues, 'he endeavoured to persuade me of the necessity incumbent upon him *to do several things, that appeared extraordinary in the judgment of some men*, who, in opposition to him, took such courses, as would bring ruin upon themselves, as well as him and the public cause; affirming his intentions to be directed entirely to the good of the people, and professing his readiness to sacrifice his life in their service.' He added, after some conversation upon past events, that he desired 'nothing more, than that the government of the nation might be settled in a free and equal commonwealth: acknowledging that there were no other probable means to keep out the old family and government from returning upon them; and declared that he looked upon the design of the Lord in that day, to be the freeing of his people from every burden, and that he was now accomplishing what was prophecied in the 110th Psalm; from the consideration of which, he was often encouraged *to attend the effecting those ends*—spending at least an hour in the exposition of that psalm.' Judging of characters from collateral circumstances, the most ready way in frequent instances to discover the truth, we

cannot but see, in the conversation related by Ludlow, the direction which Cromwell's mind was now taking. He already considered himself, it is apparent, a chosen instrument of God's providence;—he already conceived designs of *doing several extraordinary things*, which designs he feared might be *suspected* by others;—and he thought it prudent, in the case of so determined a republican as Ludlow, to lull all such his suspicions to sleep, previously to his departure for the north. He appealed, therefore, to those religious views, whose operation upon himself were in such great part real, and in which he might think he could best depend upon Ludlow's concurrence with him. But he would seem not to have lost his apprehensions of the latter, from the result: for, soon after, Ludlow, *at his particular instance*, was honourably removed from the scene of action at home, by being appointed a Commissioner for the affairs of Ireland, as well as Lieutenant-general of the horse in that country.*

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* It may be worth while briefly to notice the *Psalm* mentioned above; Cromwell's exposition of which must be considered extremely moderate in point of *length*, (an hour), since it consists of seven verses, and many another of the military preachers of that day would have extracted a three hours' discourse from either of them. To speak with a reverence becoming the subject, this psalm, by our English

Even prior to the recent elevation of Cromwell, his real disinclination to which, when his thoughts are thus bared by indirect events becomes more than ever problematical, there

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translators, and perhaps by the entire Christian world, is considered a prophecy, relating to Christ's kingdom, power, and offices upon earth. Cromwell's conversation bears mainly upon the things, which he tells Ludlow he feels it 'incumbent' upon *himself* to do: and how these things, thus assumed to be his personal concerns, though relating to the national affairs at large, should have any connection with the ends of Christ's mission to the world, unless through *his own farther exaltation and agency* to 'attend the effecting those ends,' is not apparent. The most remarkable passages in the psalm, as capable of being wrested to Cromwell's purposes, are the following:—"The Lord, at thy right hand, shall strike through Kings in the day of his wrath:"—"He shall judge among the heathen; he shall fill the places with the dead bodies; he shall wound the heads over many countries:"—"Thy people shall be willing in the day of thy power:"—"The Lord shall send the rod of thy strength out of Zion: rule thou in the midst of thine enemies." Now, if Cromwell alluded *only* to Christ's spiritual exaltation in England, why, it is repeated, did he connect with his subject those past or *suspected* actions of his own, which had been, or appeared likely to become, such assumptions of the temporal power, as to seem 'extraordinary' to many; and by which in reality he was, at this very time, preparing the way to his future sole government?—It is observable, that no contemporary writer notices his 'confusion and irresolution' on accepting the supreme command of the Army, preparatory to his departure for Scotland. His triumphant career, and the more than regal authority he had exercised, in Ireland, had perhaps divested him

were men, whose suspicions of him, he had been taught by experience, might prove dangerous. Three officers of the army, named Rich, Staines, and Watson, suffered themselves to conceive such violent apprehensions of the designs of the then Lieutenant-general, and to join with them such malignant envy and hatred of his talents and person, as to form a design of assassinating him. The plot was discovered, and the Council of State resolved on their just punishment: when Cromwell himself generously interposed in their behalf, and procured not only their pardon, but that the attempt should not be more publicly made known. By this 'generosity,' Mrs. Hutchinson observes, having 'carried himself with the greatest bravery that is imaginable therein,' he 'much advanced his glory,'—as, it must be confessed, such conduct in him deserved. The lady's other observations, relative to this transaction, are something disingenuous. It seems rather too much to expect, that the Lieutenant-general should not afterward 'know how to serve himselfe of' these officers, 'without trusting them;' and nothing disreputable

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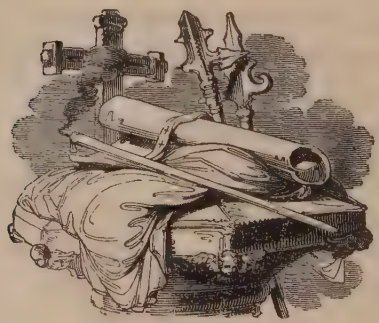
of many of these self-abasing feelings: and when Fairfax had once resigned, his own succession to the then really highest dignity in the country, appeared to be considered by him, (as in fact it was,) only a matter of course.

to Cromwell, however much it might be so to them, that, in the fullness of their future gratitude, 'they became beasts and slaves to him,' who so well knew how to turn the most adverse men and circumstances to his political advantages. But Mrs. Hutchinson, it must always be remembered, in perusing her 'memoirs' with an eye to Cromwell, might naturally, and even amiably, be led into unfavourable views of him, from an injury, which, whether truly or not, she conceived him to have done her husband, the Colonel:—moreover, it should not be forgotten, that, with all her talents and very estimable qualities, Mrs. Hutchinson was a *woman* and a *partisan*.



CHAPTER IX.

FROM CROMWELL'S SECOND EXPEDITION TO SCOTLAND, TO HIS DISSOLUTION OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT.

Cromwell marches for Scotland—His Moderation and Generosity on crossing the Frontier—Harassing Policy of the Scots—Imminent Danger of the English Army—Victory at Dunbar—Correspondence with the Governor of Edinburgh Castle—Surrender of that Fortress—Cromwell attacked by an Ague—Charles II. joins the Scotch Army—Cromwell cuts off his Supplies—Charles marches for England—Cromwell overtakes him near Worcester—Gains a complete Victory—Destruction of the Scots—The Parliament's Compliments to Cromwell—His Triumphant Entry into London—Moderation under his new Honours—Procures an Act of Oblivion—Confers with the Chief Members of the House, and Principal Officers, relative to a "Settlement of the Nation"—Private Conference with Whitelock upon the same Subject—Unpopularity of the Parliament—Cromwell DISSOLVES that Body—Notice of the Event in a *Newspaper* of the Day—Consideration of Cromwell's Conduct—And of the Merits of the Long Parliament.

On the first July, 1650, information reached London, that the young King had landed in Scotland; and that the Scots were making farther additions to their forces, with the view of conducting them immediately over their

southern frontier. But Cromwell had already set forward from the capital with his Army; having published a declaration in its name, with the approbation of the Parliament, setting forth the grounds of his hostile march, and addressed, singularly enough, as it would be thought in our times, 'To all that are saints, and partakers of the faith of God's elect, in Scotland.'* On his arrival at Berwick-upon-Tweed, the General published a second declaration to the people of Scotland, recapitulating the arguments of the former; and, after taking notice of some aspersions unjustly cast upon his intentions, and the character of his troops, assuring both the gentry and commonalty, that he would not offer the least violence or injury to their persons, goods, or possessions, they being innocent in his opinion; and inviting them to stay and abide in their habitations, where, he tells them, they might and should enjoy what they had in peace. The most absurd reports,

* This declaration appears to have been in answer to one, professing to be that of 'Major-general Massey, and eighty other English officers and commanders, engaged with the kingdom of Scotland, in behalf of their Presbyterian brethren in England, Ireland, and the principalitie of Wales.' The schism created in *the Army*, as well as the Parliament, by the distinctions of Presbyterian and Independent, is thus seen to have had important consequences.

it appears, which this latter declaration was meant to counteract, had been spread among the Scots: to the effect, that 'the English intended to cut the throats of all between sixty and sixteen years of age; cut off the right hands of the youths under sixteen, and above six years old; burn the womens' breasts with hot irons; and destroy all before them.' But so contrary was Cromwell's conduct, that, as upon a former occasion, he treated the unoffending inhabitants with all possible kindness; supplied even their wants, and most severely punished all who injured them.—Did he then use harshness toward none, but the *catholic* and *rebellious* natives of every way unfortunate Ireland?

On passing the frontier, the strong impression produced by the injurious calumnies on the English Army that had been so industriously circulated, in spite of all Cromwell's efforts to remove that impression, became singularly apparent. Scarcely a Scotchman was to be seen under sixty years of age, and but very few women and children. In the whole 'march from Berwick to Edinburgh, the Army did not meet with ten men:' an effect partly created, it is true, by an order of the States of Scotland themselves; which declared, that 'all who did not remove, should have their goods sequestered, and be declared enemies.' For, tutored by their re-

collections of the past, which seem to have convinced them of their small chance of success in a general engagement with the English leader, the Scots had resolved upon this system of defence; a system, that involved him in difficulties, greater than any to which, as a military commander, he had ever yet been exposed. Impregnably posted and intrenched in a situation between Edinburgh and Leith, their superior knowledge of the country enabled them continually to harass him, by wasting skirmishes with detached bodies of his troops, that led to no result; by always avoiding his offered battle; and frequently by cutting off his supplies. In vain did he exhaust his every art to provoke them to a general contest. Their object was, without risk to themselves, to detain him before them, (calculating upon his supposed ambition once more to give the law in their capital,) until winter should entirely cut off the means of provisioning his troops: when they calculated upon his returning to England as from a bootless errand, if indeed he should escape their vengeance before he could regain the frontier.

It might be little instructive to detail the minor operations of this campaign; which, in truth, were of no importance, otherwise than as they led to the grand result. It will suffice to say, that, ever as cautious as he was enter-

prising, Cromwell, finding his marches and countermarches, between his sources of supply and the Scottish capital, had subjected his Army to immense losses,—in bloody though partial conflicts, by privations of the severest kind, and at length also by the ravages of sickness—determined upon retreat, while retreat was yet in his power.* He therefore drew off his remaining forces, scarcely numbering 12,000 men, toward Dunbar; where he shipped his heavy baggage, and the sick: the Scots army, increased to 27,000, and in all the elation of anticipated triumph, closely following him. The Scots now thought they had Cromwell wholly in their power; and were determined

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* Previously to resolving upon this step, being stung by the pertinacity of the Scots, he himself on one occasion headed a 'forlorn' against 2 or 3000 of their horse, who were drawn out on the west side of the city, hoping to bring them to a conflict; but they retreated immediately upon his appearance. One of them, however, fired a carbine at him as he 'went before' his men: upon which Cromwell hallooed to the Scotchman, that 'if he had been one of his soldiers, he would have cashiered him for firing at such a distance'! The man, having formerly served in England under Leslie, knew the General, and coming over to him, told him he was 'Cromwell himself,' and that he had seen him in Yorkshire with his master:' (Leslie.)—"True Relation of the Transactions of the Army in Scotland, &c. published by authority." Lond. 1650.

he should feel the full weight of the resentment, they had so long treasured up against him. Their temper of mind, in these to both sides so extraordinary circumstances, the straits of the English army, and Cromwell's own feelings, are equally shewn in the following extract from his letter to the Speaker, dated the day after the battle that now at last took place.

"Their whole army," (he says,) "was upon their march after us: and indeed our drawing back in this manner, with the addition of three new regiments added to them, did much heighten their confidence, if not presumption and arrogancy. The enemy, that night, we perceived gathered towards the hills, labouring to make a perfect interposition between us and Berwick; and having in this posture a great advantage, through his better knowledge of the country, he effected this by sending a considerable party to the strait pass at Copperspeth, where ten men to hinder are better than forty to make their way. Aud truly this was an exigent to us, wherewith the enemy reproached us with that condition the Parliament's army was in, when it made its hard conditions with the King in Cornwall. By some reports that have come to us, they had disposed of us, and their business, in sufficient revenge and wrath towards our persons; and had swallowed up the poor interest of England, believing that their army and their King would have marched to London without any interruption: it being told us, we know not how truly, by a prisoner we took the night before the fight, that their King was very suddenly to come amongst them, with those English they allowed to be about him: but in what they were thus lifted up, the Lord was above them. The enemy lying in the posture before mentioned, having these advantages, we lay very near him; being sensible of our disadvantages, having some weakness of

flesh, but yet consolation and support from the Lord himself to our poor weak faith, wherein, I believe, not a few amongst us shared; that, *because* of their numbers, *because* of their advantages, *because* of their confidence, *because* of our weakness, *because* of our strait, we were in the mount, and in the mount the Lord would be seen, and that he would find out a way of deliverance and salvation for us: and indeed we had our consolations and our hopes."

Yet never, in reality, in the whole course of his military career, was Cromwell placed in so perilous a situation. The Scotch army, independently of their vast numerical superiority, and of their having succeeded in cutting off his retreat to England, had posted themselves so advantageously on the hills near the town, that to attack them, would have seemed to most military men the height of imprudence, even if his strength had been better proportioned to theirs. Their General, Leslie, had shewn himself, throughout the campaign, and upon his former commands in England, an able leader; having greatly assisted Cromwell himself to defeat the Earl of Newcastle's foot-men at Marston Moor. He was of a disposition besides so wary, that, least of all, could it be expected he would fail to make the most of every advantage he possessed. Reduced to such an exigency—the passes to England pre-occupied, 'the whole Scots army on the right hand, the sea on the left, and the whole nation of Scotland behind him'—there

might appear but little ground for the 'consolations and hopes' of Cromwell: and yet, there seems no reason to doubt, he both possessed them, and communicated them to others. At first view, indeed, of the difficulties with which he was encompassed, his perplexity was great: and there can be no reader, thinking it possible that he ever, (at any former, even if not at the present period of his life,) was sincerely religious, but must conceive it natural for religion, in such a moment, to recover her strongest influence over his mind, and lead him to her first, simplest of duties—prayer. Accordingly, on the night preceding the memorable 3rd of September, 1650, while the Scots yet 'hovered upon the hills like a thick cloud, menacing nothing but ruin and destruction,' he called his principal officers together, and gave general instructions to his army, to 'seek the Lord'—the customary expression for prayer in that day. After their devotions, he assumed his wonted serenity of manner and countenance: and feeling, as he said, his heart enlarged, and his spirits quieted, he bade them '*all take heart, for God had certainly heard them, and would appear for them.*' But, never neglecting any means within the compass of his own ability, to insure success, even when he seemed most to trust to a superior power to afford it him, 'the Lord General,' (the night proving dreadfully wet and tempes-

tuous,) 'took more than ordinary care of himself and his army: he refreshed his men in the town, and paid especial attention to securing his match-locks against the weather, whilst his enemies neglected theirs.' As the daylight broke, he walked, with his officers, in the Earl of Roxburgh's gardens: from whence, through the morning mists, they could indistinctly trace the extended (too extended) position of their enemies. On the preceding evening, Cromwell's tact had detected an error in the posture of their right, toward the sea, from which he thought an advantage might be derived. Noticing this to those around him, they concurred with him in the idea; and he had dispatched, during the darkness, a detachment to turn the flank of the Scots in that direction. This detachment attacked the enemy at six in the morning, on the eminence where they were posted, and put them in some disorder. Just as the manœuvre on this flank was, therefore, taking effect, Cromwell, still watching the Scots through his prospective glass, perceived a general stir throughout their camp; indicating, to his practised eye, that they were possessed with a resolution similar to his own, and were descending from the heights to give him battle. Upon which, he at once daringly exclaimed '*God is delivering them into our hands!—They are coming down to us!*'

Having prepared himself to be the attacking party, not the attacked, he, instantly arraying all his remaining forces, led them to meet the deluge of Scottish war, that in reality was now seen sweeping from their hills. Coming up with the rear of the troops who were still in close conflict with the Scottish right, he ordered an extension of his line; by which he brought the van of each army into a position to be 'engaged all over the field.'* The meeting on either side was more than commonly determined: the Scotch rushing forward with the confidence, resulting both from their individual bravery, and the sense of their so greatly superior strength; the English advancing with that cool energy, the source of so many triumphs recorded in their history, and which, on so many other occasions, has taught them how to derive victory from desperate circumstances. Almost from the first clash of the hostile weapons, it became apparent to which side the victory would incline. Never did Cromwell more enthusiastically, and yet more calmly, exert himself: never, with his slightly silvered locks, and piercing looks of stern composure, did he appear so like the ancient genius of war, less contending for an uncertain tri-

* Mem. of Capt. J. Hodgson.

umph, than assuring it to every soldier of the little band, in whose every breast his energies expanded. In the thick of the fight, the sun then rising in majesty from the sea, he seized upon his appearance with a poet's feeling, united with an intense conviction of the presence and favour of the God of battles; crying aloud, "*Now let* GOD *arise, and his enemies shall be scattered!*"* And, in truth, vain were all the advantages which the Scots derived from their numbers, and the pouring of their masses *down*, while the English had to toil and fight their way *up*, the steep hills of this bloody contest. But for Cromwell's well-judged flanking attack, one consequence of which was that numerous bodies of the Scots, when once routed, themselves routed entire divisions behind them, every man in his army might have been at least 'twice met' by an opponent. But, so striking and rapid were the effects of this manœuvre, that, in little more than an hour, and with very inconsiderable loss to the English, the enemy were thrown into inextricable confusion. In their front, all then was slaughter, raging the more for the opposition it had overborne; in their rear, all panic and dismay. Strange, however, to relate, the Scotch preachers, who had compared Cromwell to Agag, and by whose in-

* Psalms, lxviii. 1.

fluence it was that their Army had descended, (contrary to Leslie's wish,) from the hills as to a certain prey, continued their exhortations to the combat, in every part of the field as yet untraversed by the English; and many of them were knocked on the head, while, with stupid confidence, still promising their countrymen the victory. Others, as it was curiously observed at the period, 'had very notable marks about the head and face, that any body might know they were not hurt by chance, or in the crowd, but by very good will:' and, in the end, all the Scots, Ludlow says, fled with such 'precipitation and disorder, that few of them ventured to look behind them till they arrived in Edinburgh.' Upward of 4000 were killed in the battle, and in Cromwell's 'chace and execution of them for near eight miles;' and more than 10,000, including 140 chief officers, and many persons of distinction, made prisoners. Besides which, the English captured 200 standards, and all the artillery, ammunition, and baggage. (*x* [2].)

A victory, so little expected either in England or Scotland, and of which it may be safely said, that, considering all the circumstances of the two armies, it displayed talent in the successful general, and dauntless courage in his troops, not more than paralleled by any triumph recorded in legitimate history, filled

all the friends of Cromwell, and his party, and indeed the great majority of his countrymen, with joy. Although there had not been wanting those, who, in the words of an epistle addressed to Cromwell upon the event, had, only the morning before the tidings arrived, 'ran up and down to their friends with news that he was coming back with shame: they insulted in their shops and in the streets, because *that was now come to pass they always looked for, &c.*—But whilst their hearts were thus merry within them, their faces grew pale, their countenances cast down, because the sword of the Lord and of his servants had prevailed.' The Parliament, delighted in proportion to the fears they had but lately felt, testified their gratitude to, and regard for their General in every possible way. They directed that a day should be set apart for a national thanksgiving; ordered the colours taken in the battle to be suspended, along with those obtained in the former victory over the Scots at Preston, in Westminster Hall; sent an epistle to Cromwell, 'taking notice of his eminent services, with the special acknowledgement and thanks of the House;'* and referred it to the Committee of the Army, to consider what *medals* should be prepared, both for the officers and soldiers engaged on the memorable

* Journals.

occasion. (x^3.) Within a week after the battle, Cromwell, having possessed himself of Leith and Edinburgh in a single day, wrote a letter to the Governor of the *Castle*, still frowning hostilely upon him: the object of which was, to prevail on that officer, and the other Scottish leaders, to see with himself the hand of God in the late wonderful achievement, and to impress them with the necessity of yielding to an Army, whose valour and whose cause were thus miraculously supported.

"The Lord (said he in this letter) hath heard us, though you would not, upon as solemn an appeal as experience can parallel. And although they (the Scots army) seem to comfort themselves with being the sons of Jacob, from whom, they say, 'God hath hid his face for a time;' yet it's no wonder, when the Lord hath lift up his hand so eminently against a family, as he hath done so often against this, (the Stuart), and men will not see his hand, if the Lord hide his face from such, putting them to shame, both for it and their hatred of his people, as it is this day. When they purely trust to the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God, which is powerful to bring down strong holds, and every imagination that exalts itself, which alone is able to square and fit the stones for the New Jerusalem; then, and not before, and by that means, and no other, shall Jerusalem, (which is to be the praise of the whole earth), the city of the Lord, be built; the Sion of the Holy One of Israel."

The Governor telling Cromwell, in his reply, the Scots ministers said 'they had not so learned Christ, as to hang the equity of their cause upon

events,' the controversialist General resumed his pen :—

"You say, 'you have not so learned Christ, as to hang the equity of your cause upon events.' We could wish blindnesse hath not been upon your eyes to all those marvellous dispensations, which God hath wrought lately in England. But did not you solemnly appeal and pray? Did not we do so too? And ought not you and we to think with fear and trembling of the hand of the great God in this mighty and strange appearance of his? But can we slightly call it *an event?* Were not both your and our expectations renewed from time to time, whilst we waited upon God, to see which way he would manifest himself upon our appeals? And shall we, after all these our prayers, fastings, tears, expectations, and solemne appeals, call these bare events? The Lord pity you. Surely we fear, because it hath been a merciful and gracious deliverance to us. I beseech you, in the bowels of Christ, search after the mind of the Lord in it towards you, and we shall help you by our prayers, that you may find it out; for yet (if we know our hearts at all) our bowels do in Christ Jesus yearn after the godly in Scotland."

Cromwell's brisk prosecution of the siege of the Castle, however, which we may be sure was not obstructed by his epistolary conflict, soon worked greater things than religious exhortation could effect, upon the mind of the Governor. On the 24th of December, the mighty fortress, that, in the language of the times, 'gloried in its virginity,' never having been previously taken, was surrendered, with all its military appurtenances, to the English comman-

der. A surrender, with which the Scotch in general were thunderstruck: it seeming 'incredible,' says a writer of the age, 'that such a strong and impregnable hold as was that should be so easily won, the like whereof is not in that nation; wherefore it was the common vogue that it was assaulted with *silver* engines.'* But Cromwell was not accustomed to the use, and indeed at that period was not very likely to be able to avail himself, of such weapons of warfare.

Meantime, the Scots, still full of zeal for their sect and King, and hatred to the man who had so repeatedly conquered the cause of both, were busied in raising a new and very considerable army in the neighbourhood of Stirling and Aberdeen: of which they appointed Charles himself Captain-general, and Duke Hamilton Lieutenant-general; entrusting the command of the English who sided with them to Major-general Massey, before-mentioned. The bigoted opinion of the Scottish rulers, that Heaven had destined its favours but to their peculiar sect, had led them to dismiss the *Cavaliers* from their ranks, on the eve of the late battle. But all the King's friends, without distinction, were now invited to swell their powers: events having convinced them, that 'worldly instruments,'

* Britannia Triumphalis, 1654.

and 'the arm of the flesh,' were not to be contemned by such as had to deal with an invading General, who, to a more rational piety, added the minutest attention to the measures calculated for success. *Upon his signing the Covenant*, they also, on the 1st of January, 1651, crowned their King at Schone, the ancient place of coronation for the Scottish monarchs: a ceremony that had hitherto been delayed, in order that young Charles, (whose deliverance from his gaolers now almost compensated for the late defeat of his cause,) might have sufficient time 'to humble himself for his father's sins, and his own transgressions.' As soon as the weather appeared tolerably favourable, Cromwell began his northward march to the King's head-quarters; but, by 'reason of the extreme snow and storms, was obliged to return to Edinburgh.' Immediately afterward, he fell sick, and continued indisposed, and at times dangerously ill, during the four ensuing months; his sickness terminating in an ague, of which he had three several relapses. Apprised of which circumstances, the Parliament sent him a message of condolence; ordered his two physicians, who attended him when in London, to join him forthwith; and earnestly requested him to retire, for the re-instatement of his health, to some convenient place in England; and intrust his Army, in the meanwhile, to whom he should

think fit. But he chose rather to continue at his post; and, at length, was enabled himself to address the Parliament in letters informing them of his entire recovery.

The Scotch Army, having completed its reinforcements by the time their enemy re-took the field, and being now joined by numbers of the chief nobility and gentry of the country, together with the young King, as commander-in-chief, in person, for some time again successfully practised the stratagem of coming to no general engagement with Cromwell: managing always to elude his efforts, when the advantages on both sides were at all equal; or else so strongly to post and intrench themselves, that their large force, amounting to from 25,000 to 30,000 men, could scarcely fail to ensure destruction to an attacking foe. At Torwood, they fortified their camp in such manner, that the English Leader, finding them at once unattackable and irremoveable, had no resource but in an attempt to cut off their supplies from Fife, and the Highlands in general. But, his first successes toward this measure inspiring them with a panic, they quitted their position so hastily, as to abandon their sick, and leave a large quantity of military stores behind them. At Stirling Park, however, by taking up a position of equal strength, they again defied their enemy to force them to a battle: so that Cromwell at last re-

solved to carry on the war in Fife itself; and, crossing the Forth with the greater part of his army, appeared before St. John's Town, and took it the same day, though only upon that preceding the Lord Duffus had strongly garrisoned it. By which rapid manœuvres, having completely interposed himself between his opponents and their resources, Charles, as a last resort, and seeing the road open at least to his paternal dominions, found means to inspire his Army with the novel but crude resolution of giving Cromwell the slip, and marching for England. From such a proceeding, the Scotch were easily led to anticipate the support of all the English Presbyterians and loyalists; and perhaps they trusted to hear no more of their adversary, until he should appear with the vain hope to regain from them the possession of London. The first intelligence of their southward march, obtained by the Parliament, was communicated in dispatches from the General himself; in which he stated his *reasons* for not preventing their irruption into England, and assured his employers, that 'he would overtake the enemy, and give a good account of them before they came near London:' but the actual probability is, that he was for once outwitted by his wily foe.

If even he had been remiss, however, he speedily atoned for it, by inflicting so severe a

punishment upon the rashness and presumption of the Scots, that, in his own words, 'not five of their whole armie returned' to their own country. *(y)* But, meantime, great was the dismay occasioned in England by this movement of the royal army. 'Both the city and country,' according to Mrs. Hutchinson, 'were all amazed, doubtful of their own and the commonwealth's safety:' and 'some could not hide very pale and unmanly fears, and were in such distraction of spirit as much disturbed their counsels.' It was resolved, however, by the Parliament, immediately to order out the militia, and to raise new levies: and the same body declared it high treason, for 'any person to hold correspondence with Charles Stuart, or any of his party; or to give them any encouragement or assistance.' But Charles, being joined in Lancashire by the Earl of Derby and others, marched briskly on; and soon appeared before Shrewsbury, which he summoned. But, that place refusing to surrender, or to acknowledge him, he continued his route to Worcester: where he received the unwelcome intelligence, that Cromwell, (who had from the first dispatched 800 horse, under Major-general Lambert, to harass his line of march, and had subsequently left the famous Monk his Lieutenant in Scotland,) was in person near at hand. Finding, therefore, it must prove impossible for him to

proceed much farther unattacked, the young King resolved here to wait his opponent's arrival, and leave all to the chances of a battle. On his auspicious 3rd of September, the same day on which, a twelvemonth previously, he gained the victory of Dunbar, Cromwell prepared for the general attack: having, within the few preceding days, re-united himself to Lambert; strengthened his army by the troops sent to his assistance under Fleetwood, Desborough, and Harrison; and succeeded in driving in most of his enemy's out-posts. He had himself attained the Worcester side of the Severn, with the main body; but Fleetwood was on the opposite bank, hotly engaged with several parties of the Scots, who had not yet retreated into the city. As a preparatory step, therefore, he dispatched a strong reinforcement across the river to the assistance of his subaltern; who was thus enabled to defeat those opposed to him. But, while this was doing, and Cromwell was, by this very measure, divided from half his forces, the Royalists from the town made a gallant as unexpected attack upon himself and Lambert; at first with such success, that even the General's life-guard was compelled to give ground, and the cannon also were, for a moment, in the possession of the King's party. By the most strenuous personal exertions alone, did Cromwell restore the battle: the Scots

at length fell back, and re-entered the city, with the English, headed by their General, at their heels. The contest, or what was now rather the slaughter, continued in the passage of both parties through the streets to the opposite outlets; the Scots leaving all their artillery and baggage by the way. The King, attended by about sixty noblemen and gentlemen, with difficulty escaped through St. Martin's Gate: while Cromwell, who had entered by Sudbury Gate, made his way, at the head of some regiments, to the Fort-Royal; in which a brave garrison, commanded by Colonel Drummond, appeared still determined to hold out. He resolved immediately to storm: but, foreseeing the destruction of these brave Scots, first ventured, 'through whole showers of shot,' to offer them quarter; which they refusing, the fort was taken by assault, and its defenders, 1500 in number, all put to the sword. In every other respect, 'the dispute,' agreeably to Cromwell's own account for the Parliament, 'was long, and very near at hand, and often at push of pike, and from one defence to another.'—'Indeed,' he adds, 'it was a stiff business; yet I do not think we have lost 200 men.' To all which, however, it must be observed, Hume's relation is widely different: that historian (better informed than the English General) endeavouring to impress the belief, that this was one of the most easily ob-

tained of Cromwell's victories—the Scotch flying from him almost without resistance! Most important, at all events, were the consequences of the engagement. More than 10,600 of the enemy were made prisoners: among whom were Duke Hamilton, the Earls of Digby, Lauderdale, Rothes, Carnworth, Kelly, and Cleveland; the Generals Leslie and Massey, and upward of 600 officers besides: the King's standard being also taken, with 158 other colours. Troops were sent all ways in pursuit of those who had fled: and the country people, enraged at the irruption of the Scots, intercepting them in every direction in their flight, and knocking all on the head who fell into their hands, thus completed the annihilation of their Army which Cromwell describes.

In this battle, Scotland, and the reviving hopes of Charles, were equally subdued: the former no longer daring to enter the lists with Cromwell; the King himself compelled, on the day succeeding that of the conflict, to separate from his attendants, and, by little less than a succession of miracles, at last escaping to the Continent. The Parliament, of late again so terror-stricken by the approach of the Scots, and again delivered from their fears by the successes of their unequalled General, knew not how to be sufficiently lavish of their testimonies of respect and affection. They sent com-

missioners, of whom Whitelock was one, in their name 'to congratulate his Lordship's* good recovery of health, after his dangerous sickness;—and to take notice of his unwearied labours and pains in the late expedition to Scotland;—of his diligence in prosecution of the enemy, when he *fled* into England;—of the great hardships and hazards he hath exposed himself to, and particularly at the late fight at Worcester;—of the prudent and faithful managing and conducting throughout of this great and important affair, which the Lord from heaven hath so signally blessed, and crowned with so complete and glorious an issue.' After more in the same strain, they conclude by requesting 'his Lordship to make his residence at or within some few miles' of them: 'whereby the Parliament may have the assistance of his presence, in the great and important consultations for the further settlement of this commonwealth, which they are now upon.' Whitelock tells us, that he, with the other commissioners, 'met the General near Aylesbury, delivered their message, and he received them with all kindness and respect;' and 'gave each of them a horse,

* This was a title of *courtesy*, with which Cromwell was now generally honoured; and which probably came first into use from its rightful adoption toward Essex and Fairfax, his predecessors as Generals-in-chief of the Army.

and two Scots prisoners, as a token of his thankful reception of the Parliament's regard, in sending them to meet and congratulate him.' Cromwell was met also at Acton, by most of the members of Parliament, and the Council of State; together with the Speaker, Lord President Bradshaw, the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs; the militia, and vast multitudes of people: accompanied by whom, he entered London in a coach of state, and was received by the citizens with acclamations, vollies of great and small shot, and every demonstration of joy. To shew their disposition to reward him with something more than barren praises, the Parliament then proceeded to 'resolve, that lands of inheritance, to the yearly value of £4000, (in addition to £2500 per annum formerly granted), belonging to the state, be settled upon the Lord-General Cromwell, and his heirs, as a mark of favour from the Parliament for his great and eminent services to the commonwealth.' On the sixteenth of September, (being the day he again took his seat in the House, and received in person the solemn thanks of the members,) he, and his principal officers, were feasted in the City with all possible magnificence; and, shortly after, the aniversary of the victory of Worcester was ordered to be kept festival for ever throughout the three kingdoms.

In the midst of these honours, Cromwell

bore his faculties so meekly—he would so 'seldom mention any thing of himself' relative to his last great achievement, but would speak so much of the 'gallantry of the officers and soldiers'—and would so unaffectedly seem 'to give all the glory of the action unto God'*—that nearly every one was even more struck with wonder at the modesty and humility of the unconquered General, than with admiration for the talents that had procured him such extraordinary successes. And yet, there was a certain fanatical preacher, (the celebrated Hugh Peters), who, as he accompanied Cromwell on his march from Worcester to London, took a private opportunity to whisper a friend upon the road, that, from some notices he had taken since the late victory, he was convinced our martial saint 'would make himself King.'† And perhaps there were not wanting others, who entertained vague surmises of the same nature. Ludlow, indeed, besides furnishing us with the above cited information from Hugh Peters, expressly remarks, in another part of his Memoirs, that "after this action," Cromwell "took upon him a more stately behaviour, and chose new friends." Again he tells us, the General's "pernicious intentions did not discover them-

* Ludlow. † Ibid.

selves openly till after the battle of Worcester, which, in one of his letters to Parliament, he called 'the Crowning Victory.'" Cromwell's actual words, however, occurring in the letter we have already quoted, were: 'The dimensions of this mercy are above my thoughts; it is, for aught I know, a *crowning mercy*.' Expressions, which at the time could only have been understood to mean, that the victory of Worcester would in all probability prove, as we know it did prove, the seal of triumph to the Parliament's cause; and which it is not likely that he used with any covert allusion, although Ludlow's repetition, or rather open distortion of them, has been followed by numberless comments, of a nature that will be readily suggested to the reader. That Cromwell, as we are also told, was with difficulty restrained, after the victory, from *knighting some of his officers upon the field*, appears an evident exaggeration, both from the form of its recital, (the battle clearly ending in the *city* of Worcester,) and from the knowledge we possess of his little disposition to any thing resembling such childish elation and extravagance. Still, the most instructive of teachers, events, will shew, that the battle of Worcester proved an era to the ambition of Cromwell, from which it was gradually incited to take a wider and wider range: and, without inclining to the marvellous, we shall

shortly be led seriously to suspect, that the *crown* of England did not long after become its distinct object. *(z)*

The Parliament seemed very tardily to undertake the 'further settlement of the Commonwealth,' at which they had invited Cromwell to assist. Although, all enemies being now conquered, and the *surface* of the nation, at least, restored to tranquillity, it became evident that the men, who had so long held the direction of affairs—or the relict of them rather; for the House, by deaths, violence, and other means, was now reduced to about a fifth part of its original number—should forthwith return to their constituents, and take their sense upon the assembling of another and more complete representative, or upon the formation of a permanent government;—or else at once frankly confess, either that they feared the confusion likely to be generated by the conflict of men's minds upon such subjects, or that they actually intended to retain their seats, until natural mortality should take them, one by one, from them. 'The soldiers,' says Whitelock, 'grumbled at their delays, and there began to be ill blood between them: till, at length, 'the General and his officers pressed their putting a period to their sitting; which they promised to do, but were slow in that business.' Indeed, so slow were they, that another year, and again

half that period, from the battle of Worcester, rolled on, and still found the *Long* Parliament seated at Westminster.

Yet Cromwell had neither been an unconcerned, nor altogether inactive spectator of their proceedings. One of his first measures, after his return to the metropolis, was to press an 'Act of Oblivion' upon the adoption of the House with all the influence he could command: an act, which procured him a great accession of friends, even from the royal party; and his importunity as to which, is therefore somewhat ungenerously considered by Ludlow to have arisen out of sinister views alone. Shortly afterward, he thought proper to desire a conference with a number of the members, and some chief officers of the army, at the Speaker's house. And, on their arrival, he observed that 'now, the old King being dead, and his son defeated, he held it necessary to come to a settlement of the nation. And, in order thereto, he had requested this meeting; that they might consider and advise with him what was fit to be done, and from them to be presented to the Parliament.' Whitelock, who was present, and informs us this, gives the following quaint but curious dialogue, as a detail of what passed upon the occasion:—

Speaker. My Lord, this company were very ready to attend your Excellency; and the business you are pleased to

propound to us is very necessary to be considered. God hath given marvellous success to our forces under your command; and if we do not improve these mercies to some settlement, such as may be to God's honour, and the good of this commonwealth, we shall be very much blameworthy.

Harrison. I think that which my Lord General hath propounded, is to advise as to a settlement, both of our civil and spiritual liberties; and so that the mercies which the Lord hath given unto us may not be cast away: how this may be done is the great question.

Whitelock. It is a great question, indeed, and not suddenly to be resolved; yet it were pity that a meeting of so many able and worthy persons as I see here should be fruitless. I should humbly offer in the first place, whether it be not requisite to be understood in what way this settlement is desired, whether of an absolute republic, or with any mixture of monarchy?

Cromwell.—My Lord Commissioner Whitelock *hath put us upon the right point;* and, indeed, it is my meaning that we should consider whether a republic, or a mixed monarchical government, will be best to be settled; and, *if any thing monarchical, then in whom that power shall be placed?*

Sir Thomas Widdrington. (Who had resigned his commission of the Great Seal upon the late King's death.) I think a mixed monarchical government will be most suitable to the laws and people of the nation; and if any thing monarchical, I suppose we shall hold it most just to place that power in one of the sons of the late King.

Colonel Fleetwood. (Who afterwards married Cromwell's daughter, the widow of General Ireton.) I think that the question, whether an absolute republic, or a mixed monarchy, is best to be settled in this nation, will not be very easy to be determined.

Lord Chief Justice St. John. It will be found, that the government of this nation, without something of monarchical

power, will be very difficult to be so settled as not to shake the foundation of our laws, and the liberties of the people.

Speaker. It will breed a strange confusion, to settle a government of this nation without something of monarchy.

Colonel Desborough. I beseech you, my Lord, why may not this, as well as other nations, be governed in the way of a republic?

Whitelock. The laws of England are so interwoven with the power and practice of monarchy, that to settle a government without something of monarchy, would make so great an alteration in the proceedings of our laws, that you have scarce time to rectify, nor can we well foresee, the inconveniences which will arise thereby.

Colonel Whalley. (Who had the custody of the late King's person at Hampton Court.) I do not well understand matters of law; but, it seems to me the best way not to have any thing of monarchical power in the settlement of our government; and, if we should resolve upon any, whom have we to pitch upon? The King's eldest son hath been in arms against us, and his second son is likewise our enemy.

Sir Thomas Widdrington. But the late King's third son, the Duke of Gloucester, is still among us, and too young to have been in arms against us, or infected with the principles of our enemies.

Whitelock. There may be a day given for the King's eldest son, or for the Duke of York, his brother, to come into the Parliament; and, upon such terms as shall be thought fit and agreeable, both to our civil and spiritual liberties, a settlement may be made with them.

Cromwell.—That will be a business of more than ordinary difficulty; but really I think, if it may be done with safety and preservation of our rights, both as Englishmen and as Christians, that *a settlement with somewhat of monarchical power in it would be very effectual.*

Much other discourse, as we find from Whitelock, followed. 'Generally, the soldiers were against any thing of monarchy, though every one of them was a monarch in his own regiment or company: the lawyers were generally for a mixed monarchical government: and many were for the Duke of Gloucester to be made King;—*but Cromwell still put off that debate, and came off to some other point.*' And, in conclusion, the company parted without coming to any result: 'only Cromwell discovered, by this meeting, the inclinations of the persons that spake, for which he fished, and made use of what he then discerned.' A few months afterward, *the Duke of Gloucester was sent out of the kingdom;* a measure, which the influence of the Lord-general was sufficiently strong to have either prevented or caused:—that he did *not* prevent it, leaves us without an alternative in judging of the scale into which his influence was thrown.

Nearly a twelvemonth from the period of this conference had elapsed, when Cromwell, one day meeting Whitelock in St. James's Park, saluted him with 'more than ordinary courtesy,' and desired him to walk aside with him, that they might have some private discourse together. Whitelock complying, Cromwell began to enter largely into 'the dangerous condition they were all in:' commenting upon the 'in-

clinations of the officers of the Army to particular factions, and to murmurings that they were not rewarded according to their deserts;' upon the 'distaste of the Army' (for which he wished there were not too much cause) against the Parliament:—and added, that 'really, their pride, and ambition, and self-seeking;—ingrossing all places of honour and profit to themselves and their friends;—their daily breaking forth into new and violent parties and factions;—their delays of business, and design to perpetuate themselves;—their meddling in private matters between party and party, contrary to the institution of parliaments, and their injustice and partiality in those matters, and the scandalous lives of some of the chief of them;—these things, my Lord, do give too much ground for people to open their mouths against them, and to dislike them. Nor can they be kept within the bounds of justice, and law, and reason; they themselves being the Supreme Power of the Nation, liable to no account to any, nor to be controuled or regulated by any other power, there being none superior, or co-ordinate with them. So that, unless (he continued) there be *some* authority and power, so full and so high as to restrain and keep things in better order, and that may be a check to these exorbitances, it will be impossible in human reason to prevent our ruin.' To all

which, Whitelock replied by vindicating the Parliament, so far perhaps as he durst: confessing the dangers to which the General had alluded; yet still not affecting to see any possible way to 'restrain and curb' those men, from whom they had themselves 'taken their commissions and authority.' Upon which, Cromwell at once plainly asked—'WHAT IF A MAN SHOULD TAKE UPON HIM TO BE A KING?'

Whitelock. I think that remedy would be worse than the disease.

Cromwell. Why do you think so?

Whitelock. As to your own person, the title of King would be of no advantage, because you have the full kingly power in you already, concerning the militia, (the military forces,) as you are General. As to the nomination of civil officers, those whom you think fittest are seldom refused: and although you have no negative vote in the passing of laws, yet what you dislike will not easily be carried; and the taxes are already settled, and in your power to dispose the money raised: and as to foreign affairs, though the ceremonial application be made to the Parliament, yet the expectation of good or bad success in it is from your Excellency; and particular solicitations of foreign ministers are made to you only. So that, I apprehend indeed less annoy, and danger, and pomp, but not less power and real opportunities of doing good, in your being General, than would be if you had assumed the title of King.

Cromwell. I have heard some of your profession observe, that he who is actually King, whether by election or by descent, yet, being once King, all acts done by him as King are lawful and justifiable, as by any King who hath the

crown by inheritance from his forefathers; and that, by an act of parliament in Henry VII.'s time, it is safer for those who act under a King, be his title what it will, than for those who act under any other power. And, surely, the power of a King is so great and high, and so universally understood and reverenced by the people of this nation, that the title of it might not only indemnify, in a great measure, those that act under it, but likewise be of great use and advantage in such times as these, to curb the insolencies of those whom the present powers cannot control, or at least are the persons themselves who are less insolent.

Whitelock. I agree in the general with what you are pleased to observe as to this title of King; but whether for your Excellency to take this title upon you, as things now are, will be for the good and advantage either of yourself and friends, or of the commonwealth, I do very much doubt, notwithstanding that act of parliament, 2 Henry VII., which will be little regarded or observed to us by our enemies, if they should come to get the upper hand of us.

Cromwell. What do you apprehend would be the danger of taking this title?

Whitelock. The danger, I think, would be this: one of the main points of controversy betwixt us and our adversaries is, whether the government of this nation shall be established in a monarchy, or in a free state or commonwealth; and most of our friends have engaged with us upon the hopes of having the government settled in a free state, and, to effect that, have undergone all their hazards and difficulties; they being persuaded, though I think much mistaken, that under the government of a commonwealth they shall enjoy more liberty and right, both as to their spiritual and civil concernments, than they shall under monarchy, the pressures and dislike whereof are so fresh in their memories and sufferings. Now, if your Excellency shall take upon you the title of King, this state of your cause will be thereby wholly determined, and monarchy

established in your person; and the question will be no more, whether our government shall be by a monarch or by a free state, but whether Cromwell or Stuart shall be our King and monarch: and that question, wherein before so great parties of the nation were engaged, and which was universal, will, by these means become in effect a private controversy only: before, it was national, what kind of government we should have; now it will become particular, who shall be our governor, whether of the family of the Stuarts, or of the family of the Cromwells. Thus, the state of our controversy being totally changed, all those who were for a commonwealth, (and they are a very great and considerable party,) having their hopes therein frustrated, will desert you,—your hands will be weakened, your interest straightened, and your cause in apparent danger to be ruined.

Cromwell. I confess, you speak reason in this; but what other thing can you propound, that may obviate the present dangers and difficulties wherein we are all engaged?

Whitelock. It will be the greatest difficulty to find out such an expedient. I have had many things in my private thoughts upon this business, some of which perhaps are not fit or safe for me to communicate.

Cromwell. I pray, my Lord, what are they? You may trust me with them;- there shall no prejudice come to you by any private discourse betwixt us;—I shall never betray my friend;—you may be as free with me as with your own heart, and shall never suffer by it.

Whitelock. I make no scruple to put my life and fortune in your Excellency's hand—and so I shall, if I impart these fancies to you; which are weak, and perhaps may prove offensive to your Excellency: therefore, my best way will be to smother them.

Cromwell. Nay, I prithee, my Lord Whitelock, let me know them: be they what they will, they cannot be offensive to me, but I shall take it kindly from you: therefore, I pray,

do not conceal these thoughts of your's from your faithful friend.

Whitelock. Your Excellency honours me with a title far above me; and, since you are pleased to command it, I shall discover to you my thoughts herein, and humbly desire you not to take in ill part what I shall say unto you.

Cromwell. I shall not; but I shall take it, as I said, very kindly from you.

Whitelock. Give me leave, then, first to consider your Excellency's condition. You are environed with secret enemies. Upon the subduing of the public enemy, the officers of your army account themselves all victors, and to have had an equal share in the conquest with you. The success which God hath given us, hath not a little elated their minds; and many of them are busy and turbulent spirits, and are not without their designs how they may dismount your Excellency, and some of themselves get up into the saddle;—how they may bring you down, and set up themselves. They want no counsel and encouragement herein, it may be, from some members of Parliament, who may be jealous of your power and greatness, lest you should grow too high for them, and in time overmaster them; and they will plot to bring you down first, or to clip your wings.

Cromwell. I thank you that you so fully consider my condition; it is a testimony of your love to me and care of me; and you have rightly considered it; and I may say, without vanity, that in my condition your's is involved, and all our friends; and those that plot my ruin will hardly bear your continuance in any condition worthy of you. Besides this, the cause itself may possibly receive some disadvantage by the strugglings and contentions among yourselves. But what, Sir, are your thoughts for prevention of those mischiefs that hang over our heads?

Whitelock. Pardon me, Sir, in the next place a little to consider the condition of the *King of Scots*. This prince be-

ing now, by your valour, and the success which God hath given to the Parliament and to the Army under your command, reduced to a very low condition, both he and all about him cannot but be very inclinable to hearken to any terms whereby their lost hopes may be revived of his being restored to the crown, and they to their fortunes and native country. By a private treaty with him, you may secure yourself, and your friends, and their fortunes; you may make yourself and your posterity as great and permanent, to all human probability, as ever any subject was, and provide for your friends. You may put such limits to monarchical power, as will secure our spiritual and civil liberties, and you may secure the cause in which we are all engaged; and this may be effectually done by having the power of the militia continued in yourself, and whom you shall agree upon after you. I propound, therefore, for your Excellency to send to the King of Scots, and to have a private treaty with him for this purpose: and I beseech you to pardon what I have said upon the occasion; it is out of my affection and service to your Excellency, and to all honest men; and I humbly pray you not to have any jealousy thereupon of my approved faithfulness to your Excellency, and to this Commonwealth.

Cromwell. I have not, I assure you, the least distrust of your faithfulness and friendship to me, and to the cause of this Commonwealth; and I think you have much reason for what you propound. *But it is a matter of so high importance and difficulty, that it deserves more time of consideration and debate than is at present allowed us. We shall, therefore, take a further time to discourse of it.*

With this, adds Whitelock, 'the General brake off, and went into other company, and so into Whitehall; seeming, by his countenance and carriage, displeased with what had been

said.' And, indeed, Cromwell shortly after contrived to be rid of Whitelock, as he had before been of Ludlow, by procuring him an honourable employment in another country; viz. that of Ambassador to the court of the Queen of Sweden.

At length the period arrived, when, perceiving that the ill-will of the Army toward the Parliament had reached its height; as well as that 'the confused state of the Legislature, while it appeared like a body without a head, gave him at least a plausible excuse for assuming that authority to himself which was visibly wanting;'* Cromwell judged it full time to avail himself of the instrument over which his power was already supreme, to become the master also of those, whose servant he, in all humility, had so long been. But, not yet to be precipitate, he at first talked only in a louder and more frequent strain of the great things the Army had achieved for the country, and the cause of liberty: at the same time intimating, how little the Parliament was to be thanked for those achievements—the Parliament, who were only seeking to perpetuate their power, and satisfy their selfish ambition. Taking the tone from the military chief, whose eminent services

* Rev. of the Life of O. Crom. p. 146.

had hitherto seemed to have been equalled only by his moderation and disinterestedness, numbers of well-meaning men joined in the cry against this once all but deified assembly: and many grave divines, whose vocation Cromwell had so honourably distinguished, and whose precepts he had perseveringly illustrated by his private conduct beyond many of themselves, made their pulpits resound with the mighty change they both held to be so desirable, and prophesied to be near at hand. Somewhat alarmed, the Parliament, who, at the beginning of these dissensions, had thought it 'convenient to declare' that their sitting should terminate on 'the 3d day of November, 1654,' (or in about three years), now passed a vote, that they would dissolve themselves within the space of the current year: but this was shrewdly looked upon as profession without meaning. The soldiers at length plainly declared, that if the House itself would not very shortly put a period to its sitting, that then *they* must do it. Their Lord-general, though he secretly encouraged this spirit, affected for some time rather to repress its expression in language such as this: yet confessed, that *he* was pushed on by opposing parties 'to do that, the consideration of the issue whereof made his hair to stand on end.' 'The impatient spirits of some,' he said, 'would not wait the Lord's leisure; but hurried him

on to an action, which all honest men would have cause to repent.' Indeed, the parties were now at issue: and Cromwell, agreeably to Rapin, 'had even private information, that a conspiracy was forming against him, in which were engaged not only several Presbyterians and Royalists, but also some considerable members of the House, of the Independent party: affairs, therefore, were in such a situation, that the Parliament was either to be subdued, or himself ruined.'* Some of the officers themselves were not without their jealousies of their superior; Major Streater in particular openly declaring, that 'the General designed to set up for himself.' To which, that simple enthusiast, Major-general Harrison, who was at this time one of Cromwell's most devoted partisans, answered, that he did not believe it, but that 'the General's aim was only to make way for the kingdom of Jesus.'—'Unless Jesus comes very suddenly, then,' replied Streater, 'he will come too late.'†

On the 19th of April, 1653, Cromwell summoned a meeting of many members of the House, and the principal officers, at his lodgings in Whitehall—for he had taken up his settled abode in the former palace of his sove-

* Hist. vol. II. p. 589. † Echard, Hist. p. 703.

reign—and then once more proposed that some expedient should be found for carrying on the government of the Commonwealth, and for putting a period to the present Parliament. What was the desired expedient, appears from a passage in the vindication of his after conduct published by the Lord-General and his council of officers; viz. 'that the supreme authority should be by the Parliament devolved upon known persons, and men fearing God, and of approved integrity; and the government of the Commonwealth committed unto them for a time, as the most hopeful way to encourage and countenance all God's people, reform the law, and administer justice and impartiality.' A proceeding so vague, if considered in connection with the party by whom it was proposed, could only be thought intended to transfer the whole civil power to the men, who were already unchecked in the possession of the military: and therefore there were good public grounds for standing up against it, although many of those who did so, should with justice be supposed to act with views only to their indefinitely retaining the authority they objected to confer. The debate was long and warm: Whitelock, with others, strenuously contending that it would be 'a most dangerous thing to dissolve the present Parliament, and to set up any other government; and that it would be

neither warrantable in conscience or wisdom so to do :' while the officers, many of them, frankly declared their sentiments, that it was necessary the change should take place '*in one way or other*, and the members of Parliament not be permitted to prolong their own power ;'—an expression which Cromwell 'seemed to reprove.' The conference being unended at a late hour at night, Whitelock, and his former fellow-commissioner, Widdrington, 'went home weary; and troubled to see the indiscretion and ingratitude of those men, and the way they designed to ruin themselves.' The next morning they went again, as appointed, to Cromwell at Whitehall; when they found only a small number of members and officers collected. The debates of the preceding day were however resumed; and particularly as to whether 'forty persons, or about that number, of parliament men and officers of the Army, should be nominated by the Parliament, and empowered for the managing of the affairs of the Commonwealth, till a new Parliament should meet, and so the present Parliament be forthwith dissolved.' While this was being again argued, Cromwell received intimation that the House was sitting, and that it was hoped they were about to put a period to themselves. Upon which, once more adopting the tone of moderation, he, to give them time to

make it their voluntary act, broke up the meeting. A motion to this precise effect had, in fact, been made and supported by some of the Lord-general's friends; but it was carried in the negative, and an order substituted, that 'the Speaker should issue out writs for filling the vacant seats.' Information of which being quickly carried to Cromwell by Colonel Ingoldesby, one of those members, who, on quitting him at Whitehall, had proceeded to the House;—together with news, that, instead of dissolving themselves, the Parliament were at that moment busily debating an act, 'the which would occasion other meetings of them again, and prolong their sitting;' and the consequences of which must prove, that they would all again meet, recruited from their own (still chiefly the Presbyterian) party, in a new representative;—he became enraged, and, without farther delay, resolved upon a piece of conduct, which the relations of historians have much embellished; but of which what follows is an attempt to connect and reconcile the statements of a variety of writers, to form together 'a round, unvarnished tale.'

Commanding some of his officers to collect a party of soldiers, he proceeded direct to the House at their head; and, stationing some of them at the door, and in the lobby, he led a file of musqueteers to a situation just without the

chamber where the members were seated. Then, unostentatiously entering himself, he 'sat down, and heard the debate for some time.' After which, addressing himself privately to Chief Justice St. John, he told him that 'he was come to do that, which grieved him to the very soul, and that he had earnestly, with tears, prayed to God against. Nay, that he had rather be torn in pieces than do it; but there was a *necessity* laid upon him therein, in order to the glory of God, and the good of the nation.' St. John answered, that 'he knew not what he meant; but did pray, that what it was which must be done, might have a happy issue for the general good.' Next, Cromwell called Major-general Harrison, who was on the opposite side of the House, to him; and scrupled not plainly to inform this ready and well-intentioned friend, that 'he judged the Parliament ripe for a dissolution, and this to be the time of doing it.' Harrison replied, 'Sir, the work is very great and dangerous; therefore I desire you seriously to consider of it before you engage in it.'—'You say well,' answered Cromwell; and commanded himself so far as to sit still for another quarter of an hour.

But the question for passing the obnoxious bill was now about to be put. Unable, therefore, longer to contain himself, he exclaimed to Major-general Harrison, 'this is the time I must

do it:' and, starting up, thus peremptorily addressed the Speaker and the members:—"You have sufficiently imposed upon the people, and provided for yourselves and relations!—You have long cheated the country by your sitting here, under pretext of settling the commonwealth, reforming the laws, and procuring the common good: whilst, in the mean time, you have only invaded the wealth of the state, and screwed yourselves and relations into all places of honour and profit, to feed your own luxury and impiety!"—

He stamped with his foot; and, this being the signal previously agreed upon, the musqueteers immediately entered. Then, in a furious manner, he bade the Speaker 'leave the chair;' and, looking round upon the House, exclaimed —"For shame! get ye gone!—give place to honester men, and those that will more faithfully discharge their trust. The Lord has done with ye! and has chosen other instruments for the carrying on his work, that are more worthy."

During so much of this scene, the members appear to have remained mute with astonishment: but several of them now rose at once, to expostulate with, or upbraid the authoritative General. In particular, Sir Peter Wentworth (it is supposed) cried, 'It ill suits your Excellency's justice, to brand us all promiscuously,

and in general, without the proof of a crime.' But Cromwell, growing yet more incensed, would suffer no one to be heard but himself; stepping into the centre of the House, and vehemently continuing his reproaches. 'Come, come,' said he, 'I will put an end to your prating. You are no Parliament: I say you are no Parliament: I will put an end to your sitting.'

Sir Henry Vane now spoke from his place: 'This is not honest; yea, it is against morality and common honesty.'—'Sir Henry Vane! Sir Henry Vane!' cried Cromwell, with a loud voice; 'the Lord deliver me from Sir Henry Vane!' He took him wrathfully by the cloak: 'thou art a juggling fellow!' Alderman Allen, a goldsmith, he sternly told, that 'he had enriched himself by cozening the state; for which he should be called to account:' and delivered him in custody to one of the guard. In plain terms, he then ordered the soldiers to turn the members out; an order, which they as peremptorily began to execute: while the outraged representatives, according to their several tempers, retired chop-fallen, with looks of fierceness, or of sullen indignation. As they passed, Cromwell pointed to 'Sir Harry Martin, and Tom Challoner,' and asked, 'Is it fit that such fellows as these should sit to govern? men of vicious lives? the one a noted whore-master,

the other a drunkard?'—and upbraided them all with 'selling the Cavaliers' estates by bundles,' and having 'kept no faith with them.'

The Speaker had not yet quitted the chair: but Major-general Harrison now went to him, and told him, that 'seeing things were reduced to this pass, it would not be convenient for him to remain there.' The Speaker replied, that 'he would not come down, unless he were forced.'—'Sir,' said Harrison, 'I will lend you my hand;' and, putting his hand within his, the Speaker came down. Meanwhile, Cromwell was still vociferating to the House: 'It is you that have forced me to this. I have sought the Lord night and day, that he would rather slay me, than put me upon the doing of this work.' While, 'among all the Parliament men,' (observes Whitelock) 'many of whom wore swords, and would sometimes brag high, not one offered to draw his sword against Cromwell, or to make the least resistance against him.' Then, pointing to the mace, he ordered one of the soldiers to '*take away that fool's bauble:*' and himself staying to see every individual member out of the House, and the doors properly secured, he returned to Whitehall. —Perhaps the most curious, and certainly the most brief compendium, of this extraordinary procedure, that, from the then current to the present time, has appeared in print, was that

which the good people of England read in the 'Mercurius Politicus,' the authorized Gazette of the ruling powers, on the next ensuing day of its publication :—

"Westminster, April 20. The Lord General delivered in Parliament *divers reasons* wherefore a present period should be put to the sitting of this Parliament; and it was accordingly done; the Speaker and the members all departing. The grounds of which proceedings will (it's probable) be shortly made public."

Thus was this famous assembly, that had made the world resound with its deeds, put down by one, who had originally appeared among the most inconsequential of its members; by one, who, it was truly observed, could not justify a single action he had done, or a drop of blood that he had spilled, but by its authority. Little can be said in defence of such a step—beyond this—that the Parliament, continuing mainly of the high 'Presbyterian judgement,' had still both intolerantly and arbitrarily 'neglected to settle a due liberty in civil and spiritual things;' and that the monarchical power, which Cromwell aimed to establish in place of that he abrogated, was doubtless felt by him to be essential to the well-being of the state, were it only that the laws in every-day operation were all framed in the spirit of mo-

narchy, and could derive permanency only from its support. While that, though there were certainly more just claimants to this power than himself, there was not another man perhaps in being, so well calculated, by situation, character, and circumstances, to command, soothe, and reconcile all parties to obedience to a peaceful, well-ordered government, such as he was at once capacitated to institute and preserve. When so much has been said in his defence, it must still be remembered, that, for this act, he was totally destitute of the plea of necessity, as regarded self-preservation. That, on the contrary, he already enjoyed the very highest honours, influence, and authority, that could be possessed by a subject, under the sanction of the government he destroyed; that he had received many marks of favour, and even of affection, from the Parliament; that he had not only publicly approved of their actions, but taken a zealous part in the most exceptionable of them; and had besides more than once repeated his oath, as a counsellor of state, to be faithful to the Commonwealth as then constituted. In addition to which, it must be recollected, that the Parliament were in the act of voting their own dissolution, at the moment that he effected it by a military force. And that, therefore, it was not the dissolution itself upon which he was so

much bent, as the preventing their formation of a *new* representative, which was not merely likely to consist of 'all Presbyters,' but to introduce such a number of *politically-independent strangers* into the House, as, their principles and future actions being untrammelled by participation in past events, would probably prove the strongest barrier against his farther individual rise.

To render the military supreme, it was still necessary to put an end to the Council of State, which had derived its powers from the Parliament. To accomplish this, Ludlow says, (though it must be observed that *he* was then absent in Ireland, and that Whitelock, who was yet in London, makes no mention of the fact), Cromwell, on the afternoon of the same day on which he had dissolved the House, "came to the Council of State, who were assembled to do their duty in the usual place, accompanied with Major-general Lambert and Colonel Harrison, and told them, at his entrance—'Gentlemen, if you are met here as private persons, you shall not be disturbed; but if as a Council of State, this is no place for you: and since you cannot but know what was done at the House in the morning, so take notice, that the Parliament is dissolved.' To which Sergeant Bradshaw answered, 'Sir, we have heard what you

did at the House in the morning, and before many hours all England will hear it: but, Sir, you are mistaken to think that the Parliament is dissolved; for no power under heaven can dissolve them but themselves: therefore take you notice of that.' Something more was said to the same purpose by Sir Arthur Haselrig, Mr. Love, and Mr. Scot; and then the Council of State, perceiving themselves to be under the same violence, departed." This, notwithstanding what has been observed as to Ludlow's absence, may be correctly stated. But Whitelock informs us, that 'acknowledgements were received of the *justice* of the late action of dissolving the Parliament, from several parties of the Army, and from others, in several counties, with engagements to stand by them:'—'acknowledgements,' it is to be noticed, in which is believed to have originated the practice of *addressing*, since so often adopted by the people toward the monarch on the throne.

It may not be amiss, in this place, summarily to recite the most important acts of the Parliament, chiefly from the period of the late King's death to the termination of their power: as, from their consideration only, can we form a fair estimate of the talents and public worth of the men, who have certainly been spoken of with too little respect, and in some things most un-

justly vilified. In the first place, then, they with becoming spirit and dignity upheld the national honour; and made their arms the terror of their enemies abroad, as much as their government was that of their foes at home. Their commencement of the war with the Dutch was distinguished by an ability of conduct, that Cromwell knew well how to appreciate, and to follow up to a successful close: and they, in a particular manner, vindicated and asserted the ancient right of England to the sovereignty of the seas; and, in support of it, caused Selden's famed '*Mare Clausum seu Dominio Maris*' to be translated for the general use.—They first projected the abolition of *feudal tenures*.—They passed an act, entitled 'a general pardon and amnestie;' the preamble of which stated its intention to be, 'that all rancour and evil will, occasioned by the late differences, might be buried in perpetual oblivion:' it was by Cromwell's influence, mainly, however, as formerly noticed, that so wise a provision was made for the future repose of the country. This Parliament next applied themselves to frame the celebrated Navigation Act—to mention which will be sufficient; since that act has always been considered one grand source of the unrivalled commercial greatness of the empire. They then projected, and proceeded some way

toward accomplishing an union of Scotland with England; a measure, the wisdom of which has been proved, by the beneficial results universally allowed to have flowed from its having been subsequently carried into effect. They patronised, and fostered into maturity, the genius of Milton; employing him to write those political tracts, perhaps too little read in the present day: since, along with some predilections for violent counsels, (which his warmth of temperament almost naturally extracted from the fervours of the times,) they contain the soundest judgments on the then state of the national affairs, and the purest as the most ardent breathings of the spirit of patriotism and liberty.* And, besides Milton, and others of inferior fame, it should not be forgotten that they evinced their policy in retaining the services of one, since styled the Goliath of their cause, the before-mentioned Marchamont Needham; who, by his *Mercurius Politicus*, which 'flew every

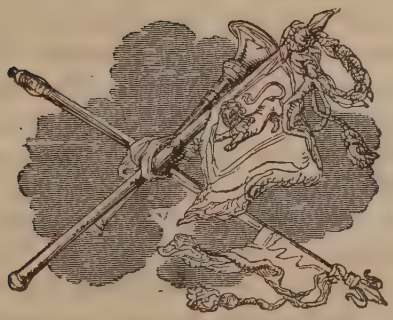
* For Milton's Answer to Salmasius only, the Parliament ordered him 1000*l.* and conferred on him the post of their Latin Secretary. It is asserted also, that 'he was allowed a weekly table by the Parliament, for the entertainment of foreign ministers, especially such as came from protestant states, and for the learned: which allowance was afterwards continued by Cromwell.'—*Toland's Life.*

week into all parts of the nation for more than ten years, made immensely numerous converts to the doctrines, supported by a pen, in comparison with others like a weaver's beam.'† Allowing that their abolition of episcopacy was just, rational, or warrantable—which here, however, is by no means allowed—their equal provision for the state clergy was judicious and commendable: as undoubtedly was the bounty they bestowed on both the universities. They first caused the books of law to be 'put into English;' a measure, that should alone render their memory dear to every Englishman, and one that deserved far different treatment than to be rescinded at the Restoration: when, however, it was sufficient for the dominant party, that an act had been passed by the authority of this Parliament, immediately to render it invalid. Since that event, by the concurrence of the entire constitutional legislature, this enactment has been most properly restored to the statute-book. And, to crown the fame of this Parliament, be it remembered, that, while the steps they were alleged to be taking, immediately previous to their dissolution, to secure their own permanence, as a part of the intended new

† Wood. Athen. Oxon.

representative, do not very plainly appear; so much is known, that, upon the plan they were proceeding to adopt, the representation of the people would have been more *equal* than it ever had been up to their times, and certainly more so than it is at the present moment; while, that the *rotten* part of the constitution, as Bishop Burnet so properly denominates the small boroughs, would have been extracted, and rendered incapable of the purchased injuries and mischiefs, it has so long been enabled to inflict on the sound portion of the represented and *non*-represented public. With reason, therefore, does Dr. Harris remark, that, 'if ever men were qualified for acting the part of legislators, these were they.' But, if so highly gifted were these celebrated senators, what must have been the courage, the conscious powers and endowments, of that man, who could venture, in the face of the whole nation, to displace them! Considering Cromwell in this light, Warburton forcibly observes of him, that he seems 'to be distinguished in the most eminent manner, with regard to his abilities, from all other great and wicked men, who have overturned the liberties of their country. The times in which others succeeded in this attempt, were such as saw the spirit of liberty suppressed and stifled by a general luxury and venality: but Cromwell subdued his

country when this spirit was at its height by a successful struggle against court oppression; and while it was conducted and supported by a set of the greatest geniuses for government the world ever saw.'



CHAPTER. X.

FROM CROMWELL'S SUMMONS OF THE LITTLE PARLIAMENT, TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF HIS PROTECTORATE.

Measures of Cromwell upon the Dissolution—He Summons a Parliament by his Personal Authority—His Investiture of this *Little Parliament*—Reflections—Resignation of its Powers by the Parliament—Real Merits of that Assembly—Lord Clarendon's Observations Disproved—The Officers choose Cromwell LORD PROTECTOR—New Constitution of the Government—Repose of the Nation—Compliments and Friendly Advances from Foreign States—Peace with France and Hostilities with Spain—Reflections upon the Protector's Choice of Enemies—Anecdote of Admiral Blake and his Seamen in Spain—Treaties with Holland, Denmark, and Portugal—High Tone of Cromwell with those Nations and the Rest of the Continent—Singular Conclusion of the Portuguese Treaty.

THE Parliament being dissolved, Cromwell, two days afterward, with the assistance of his council of officers, framed and published a 'Declaration,' in which that strong proceeding was ingeniously attempted to be justified. In this document, however, we find no mention of those constitutional grounds, which might very fairly have been brought forward to excuse it,

in some measure, at least. Notwithstanding, several of them were at the time stated by one writer, in a very curious political work :* which justly censured the form of government established by the Parliament, as 'an oligarchy;' as a 'council without balance;' as 'a Parliament, consisting of a single assembly elected by the people, and invested with the whole power of the government, without any covenants, conditions, or orders whatsoever.' In truth, had Cromwell taken up such grounds for his defence, he would himself have nullified them by his subsequent conduct. For, after appointing a new council of state, *pro tempore*, to conceal from the people that they were in reality become subject to a purely military power, he very shortly after resolved upon setting up a form of government yet more oligarchical; a council, (in so far as it included, and was directed by, instead of checking his own power,) yet more without balance; a Parliament, elected not by the people, but by himself! Accordingly, he sent circulars into every county of England, to this effect :—

"*Forasmuch as, upon the dissolution of the late Parliament, it became necessary that the peace, safety, and good government of this commonwealth should be provided for: in order whereunto, di-*

* Harrington's Commonwealth of Oceana.

vers persons, fearing God, and of approved fidelity and honesty, are by myself, with the advice of my council of officers, nominated; to whom the great charge and trust of so weighty affairs is to be committed; and having good assurance of their love to, and courage for God, and interest for his cause, and of the good people of this commonwealth: I, OLIVER CROMWELL, *Captain-general and Commander-in-chief of all the armies and forces raised, and to be raised, in this commonwealth, do hereby summon and require you,* A. B. *(being one of the said persons nominated) personally to be and appear at the council-chamber in Whitehall, within the city of Westminster, upon the fourth day of July next ensuing the date hereof; then and there to take upon you the said trust, unto which you are hereby called and appointed, to serve as a member for the county of : and hereof you are not to fail. Given under my hand and seal the sixth day of June,* 1653.

"O CROMWELL."

In pursuance of this singular call, by much the greater number of those to whom the letters had been sent, appeared at Whitehall on the day appointed. When they were seen to comprise many of the chief officers of the Army and Navy; 'divers of the quality and degree of gentlemen, who had estates,' (according to Lord Clarendon); together with some few, perhaps, (and not the *major part*, as his Lordship exaggeratingly says), 'inferior persons, of no quality or name, artificers of the meanest trades, known only by their gifts in praying and preaching—which was now practised by all degrees of men, *but scholars*, throughout the kingdom.' Whitelock more temperately remarks, that 'it was much wondered by some, that these gentlemen, *many of them being per-*

sons of fortune and knowledge, would, at this summons, and from these hands, take upon them the supreme authority of the nation, considering how little authority Cromwell and his officers had to give it, or those gentlemen to take it: but it was accepted by them.' The manner of their investiture, as given in the next ensuing *Mercurius Politicus*, is perfectly characteristic.

'*Whitehall*, July 4, 1653. The gentlemen that were called to the supreme authority met, to the number of above one hundred and twenty, in the Council-chamber; and, being set round about the table, the Lord-general standing by the window opposite to the middle of the table, and having as many of the army officers as the room could well contain on his right hand and on his left, his Lordship made a very grave, christian, and reasonable speech and exhortation to them; wherein he briefly recounted the many great and wondrous mercies of God towards this nation; he set forth also the progress of affairs since the famous victory at Worcester, wherein that arch enemy of this nation (Charles II.) was wholly subdued. He likewise laid down the actings of the Army thereupon; together with the grounds and necessity of their dissolving the Parliament, which his Excellency declared to be for the preservation of this cause, and the interest of all honest men who have been engaged therein. Moreover, he very amply held forth the clearness of the call given to the present members, to take upon them the supreme authority; and did from the scriptures exhort them to their duties, and encourage them therein; desiring that a tenderness might be used towards all godly and conscientious persons, of what judgment or under what form soever. Which

being ended, his Lordship produced an instrument under his own hand and seal, whereby he did, with the advice of his officers, devolve and intrust the supreme authority and government of this commonwealth into the hands of the persons then met; who, or any forty of them, are to be held and acknowledged the supreme authority of the nation; unto whom all persons within the same, and the territories thereunto belonging, are to yield obedience and subjection. And they are not to sit longer than the third of November, 1654. Three months before their dissolution, they are to make choice of other persons to succeed them, who are not to sit longer than a twelvemonth; but it is left to them to take care for a succession in government. Which instrument being delivered to the persons aforesaid, his Lordship commended them to the grace of God.'

In this manner did Cromwell, apparently, resign into the hands of his nominees the civil functions he had but a moment before usurped; nay, farther, provide in seeming for his own exclusion from any prospective authority in the state, by giving to the future assemblies he also thus appeared to form, the power of appointing their successors. But was then a plan of government, so jejune and crude as this, the only fruit of Cromwell's political sagacity, called into full exercise by his late destruction of one potent system of national rule, and his subsequent formation of another? Where was the genius of Cromwell, in the selection of an assembly, (to succeed that whose actions had astonished the world), which, almost from the

day of its first meeting, evinced that *they*, certainly, 'had not that large thought, nor comprehensive views, which might qualify them for acting the part of legislators'?* Nay, whence now was to be derived the *kingship*, which, ever since the battle of Worcester, it has been tolerably evident, had become the distinct object of Cromwell's ambition? No reader of English history will need to be informed, that this whole business has been considered in the light of a state-cheat, the sole intention of which was yet more to smooth the way to the solid settlement of Cromwell's individual power: and the impartial biographer is constrained to admit the too probable justice of this view of the subject. Cromwell appears, for some time past, fully to have embraced two opinions, to which neither the late Parliament, nor his officers, generally, could subscribe: viz. that monarchy was essentially necessary to the well-being of the state, and that he himself was the most fitting person to become its monarch. The first opinion he held, on account of the distractions, or the slavery, to which he saw a purely republican govern-

* Hume's unjust character of the *Long* Parliament, even as applied by him to its republican (or, as he would call it, Independent) remnant.

ment must ever be in danger to become subjected, from the ambition of such men, whom fortune had made only the equals, or the civil or military servants of others, but whom talent had constituted their superiors ;—and he was, in his own person, an illustration of its truth. The second, he gathered from the consciousness, that, without much of vanity, possessed him, that his powers were equal to the task of governing the nation for its good. But, by the use of no ordinary means, could he reduce the ruling orders, parliamentary and military, to a practical adoption of these sentiments; and, to secure his grand aim, he was therefore necessitated to destroy that assembly, whose permanency, and still more whose legitimate regeneration, would have proved its most effectual bar. While, to convince the officers, (to whom, as his chief instruments, he felt it necessary to concede much,) of their incapacity to construct governments with the same facility that they had assisted to win battles, it seemed requisite only temporarily to bend to their views, and leave it to the common sense of the nation to discover their incompetency from the result. So that to these fanatical or republican officers, we must ascribe the real choice of the majority of those composing the new legislature ; and conclude Cromwell to have merely taken care that it should contain

none, possessing either ability or inclination to defeat the ends he did not cease ultimately to propose to himself. Of his address in obtaining the secret sentiments of men, we have seen some instances. And we may rationally conceive, that he had not been wanting in the practice of the same arts with numerous others, whom he was obliged either to act with or to overpower; and that the conduct he pursued, in consequence, was judged by him to be that alone he could with safety follow.

The first acts of the new *Parliament*, (for by that name a majority of its members formally voted that they should be called), gave proof that Cromwell had secured his main point for so long as they should remain in authority; viz. the most submissive deference from them to himself. They nominated a new council of state, consisting of Cromwell and the chief of his creatures; and 'Resolved, that some members of the House should be sent to the Lord-general, so desire him to afford his presence and assistance in the House, as a member thereof:' besides 'calling' others of the principal officers, his known adherents, not previously elected of their body, to 'sit as members.' This parliament preserved its being, in all, but five months and eight days: but, says Cromwell's house-steward, Maidstone, in that 'short time made it appear, to all considering and un-

prejudiced men, that they were *huic negotio impares, non obstante* their godliness. Of which the more judicious of them being sensible, contrived the matter so as to dissolve themselves by an act of their own, and resolve their authority, whence they first derived it, upon the General.' The account given of this proceeding in their journal-book, is as follows:

"*Monday, 12th of December*, 1653. It being moved in the House this day, that the sitting of this parliament any longer, as now constituted, will not be for the good of the commonwealth; and that therefore it was requisite to deliver up unto the Lord-General Cromwell the powers which they received from him; and that motion being seconded by several other members, the house rose: and the Speaker, with many of the members of the house, departed out of the house to Whitehall; where they, being the greater number of members sitting in parliament, did, by a writing under their hands, resign unto his Excellency their said powers: and Mr. Speaker, attended with the members, did present the same to his Excellency accordingly."

A letter from one of the members themselves, addressed to a relative, and preserved in Thurloe's State Papers, states that 'about forty, and the Speaker, went to the General:' but goes on to relate that 'twenty-seven stayed in the house a little time, speaking to one another; and, going to speak to the Lord in prayer, Col. Goff and Lieut. Col. White came into the house, and desired them that were there *to come out!*—

Some answered, that they were there by a call from the General, and would not come out by their desire, unless they had a command from him. They' (the military officers) 'returned noe answer; but went out, and fetched two files of musqueteers, and did as good as force them out; amongst whom I was an unworthy one.' The facts thus simply, and with characteristic quaintness told, appear to have afforded the foundation, and the only foundation, for the famous historical *joke*, that White, in pursuance of his military interference, asking the refractory members 'what they were doing there?' and being answered 'that they were seeking the Lord,' facetiously replied: '*then you may go elsewhere; for, to my certain knowledge, the Lord has not been here these many years.*' The circumstance of a military force being resorted to, to compel the non-resigners to quit the House, were alone strong presumptive evidence, that Cromwell was not such 'an absolute stranger to the design,' as he afterward professed himself to have been: indeed, it would seem much more probable, that had not this *Parliament* discovered their unfitness to conduct the national affairs at the time they did, he would ere very long have assisted them to comprehend it. Yet, when the instrument of resignation was brought to Cromwell, it is said, he lifted up his eyes with astonishment;

and, with no less seeming modesty, refused to receive it: but at length, through the importunity of Major-general Lambert and others, representing to him that the welfare of the nation absolutely required his acceptance of the Parliament's resignation, he thought fit to comply with their request.*

It is but just to speak the truth on all hands: and, therefore, the nearly universal contempt and derision which have been cast upon this Parliament, since it does not appear to have merited them, to the extent at least that they are bestowed, should meet with some qualification in a portraiture of those times, that will not intentionally vary from the natural and proper lineaments of all whom it purposes to represent. It seems that one *Praise-God Barebone*, a leather-seller of Fleet-street, being one of the members, and in the number of their most frequent spokesmen, the wags of the times gave the entire assembly the appellation of *Barebone's Parliament:* but the reader need not be apprised, that a witticism played off at their expence, goes but little way to prove that they were the general '*amazement*, and even *mirth*, of the people.'† Their journals shew, that petitions, couched in the humblest style, were

* Ludlow. † Clarendon.

presented to them from the chief cavaliers; such as the Earl and Countess of Derby, Lord Mansfield, and the Earls of Shrewsbury and Worcester: in addition to which it may be noticed, that they were solemnly addressed by sovereign princes, at whose courts their ambassadors were received with distinction. So that, though even Cromwell could afterward speak of them with severity enough, when it suited his purposes; *(aa)* it would appear that, so long as they exercised the functions conferred by him, he would suffer no one to despise them but himself. Lord Clarendon tells us, that, during their sittings, 'they never entered into *any grave and serious debate*, that might tend to any settlement, but generally expressed great sharpness against *all learning*, out of which they thought the clergy had grown, and still would grow.' But these are little better than direct falsehoods: for the journals prove, that, 'for the right ordering and settling the business of the house, they appointed committees for the affairs of Ireland and Scotland; for the law; the army; for inspecting the treasuries, and regulating of officers and salaries; for the business of trade and corporations; for the poor, and regulating commissions of the peace; for considering of public debts, and to receive accusations of bribery, public frauds, and breach of public trust;

and *for the advancement of learning*.' Upon the whole, it may be presumed, that the men who composed this Parliament possessed, together with some share of information, and (for the most part) competent fortunes, a sufficiency of that very useful quality, common sense, to be calculated for extremely respectable and valuable members of the community at large, in peaceful and ordinary times;—their perceiving, *of themselves*, their deficiencies, as the governors of an extensive empire, placed in critical and altogether unprecedented circumstances, is no common proof of this. But we may still very fairly conceive of them as a Parliament, which the nation would hardly have been so obedient to as undoubtedly it was, had it not been pretty generally surmised, that Cromwell was behind the scenes during the whole period of their exhibition on the political theatre; planning the most important parts performed by these actors of his appointment, and ever ready to support them, if it should appear necessary, by the full terrors of military display.

Upon the resignation of this Parliament, Cromwell, it is probable, thought that now the necessity for immediately investing him with the regal power must become manifest to most: and particularly to the officers, who had seen the government of their creation flit like a shadow from before their eyes; but

who, as things stood, were still the authority from whom some other government must necessarily emanate. He did not err in the main. The old true regal *power* (almost) was given him; but the *title* properly accompanying it, that darling object of his wishes, as has been proved by his own language — the language of a man by no means apt to commit himself by the exposure of his secret thoughts—was denied. The military conclave, after several days' 'consultation, and seeking God,' resolved, that their General should be chosen LORD PROTECTOR of England, Scotland and Ireland; with the aid of a Council, to be composed of not more than twenty-one, nor less than thirteen 'godly, able, and discreet persons.' By this Council, or, more properly speaking perhaps, by Cromwell, (assisted, it is believed, by Major-general Lambert,) a well-drawn 'Instrument of Government' was prepared. The grand provisions of which were—that the supreme *Legislative* authority of the commonwealth, should be placed in a Chief Magistrate, styled Lord Protector, and the people assembled in parliament; but the *Executive* to be in the Lord Protector, assisted by his Council, alone. The powers of the Lord Protector were declared to be—to dispose of all magistracy and honours; to dispose also (with consent of parliament, when sitting)

of the militia, and forces by sea and land; to make war and peace; in the intervals of parliament to raise money for the expences of the state, and enact laws and ordinances, which should be binding until order should be taken in parliament concerning them; and to possess the prerogative of pardon, and the benefit of forfeitures. For the advantage of the people, it was declared 'that the (existing) laws should not be altered, suspended, abrogated, or repealed, nor any new law made, nor any tax, charge, or imposition laid upon the people, but by common consent in parliament;' that parliaments should be *triennial;* and neither be 'adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved, without their own consent, during five months from the day of their first meeting;' but that the Protector should have the power, with the advice of the major part of his Council, at any time, upon emergencies, to summon parliaments. Also that the new representatives, to the number of 400 members for England, and 30 each for Scotland and Ireland, should be returned from the several counties *in the proportion of their respective contributions toward the public expences;* and that bills, passed in parliament, should have the force of laws twenty days after they should have been offered to the Protector, although his assent to them was refused. A trap was laid for the general con-

currence of the grandees, by a declaration, that, upon Cromwell's death, the Protectorship should remain *elective;* and the office be bestowed on whom the Council should adjudge most worthy. All things being therefore prepared, Cromwell was ceremoniously inaugurated Lord Protector, in the Chancery Court, at Westminster, on the 16th of December, 1563; when he subscribed the Instrument of Government, and solemnly swore to 'govern the three Nations according to the laws, statutes, and customs; seeking their peace, and causing justice and law to be equally administered.' *(bb)* Shortly afterward, he was entertained by the Corporation of London, at Grocer's Hall, with regal state and magnificence: and on this occasion for the first time exercised a sovereign function, (in whose employment he was for the future sparing,) by conferring the degree of knighthood on the Lord Mayor.

Little was now wanting to make Cromwell King *de facto:* but no man could be more sensible than himself of the value of names, properly descriptive of the things they represent. And on that account alone, to say nothing of the numberless soothings to human vanity conveyed in the royal title, it may be concluded that he was not in his heart satisfied with the elevation, that to others might appear so imposing. However, he might

still contemplate the possibility of one day rendering his present dignity the footstep to acknowledged regal sway. His ability, and comprehensive judgment, were fully displayed, now that he had a mind to display them, in the terms and articles of his government: yet, even in these, there must have been some things he could not have cordially approved, though, from his situation, he might feel himself necessitated to comply with them when proposed to him. The obligation to continue his parliaments in their seats five months at the least, of itself perhaps would not have been disagreeable. But the article, by which the acts of the representative were to become laws after twenty days from their being passed, whether he should give or withhold his assent to them, must have been altogether unacceptable: particularly since the representative might avail themselves of such a license, during their sessions, to frame enactments essentially injurious to his person or office. The making the power of the forces to belong to the Protector, only with the approbation of the Parliament when sitting, seems to have arisen out of the jealousy naturally conceived, from recent occurrences, of a military body still almost paramount in the state: but a provision derived from such feelings, would be unworthy of a settled government in

a time of domestic concord. On the other hand, the power given *him* to make laws, in the intervals of parliament, was calculated to enable him, though abiding by the strict letter of the Instrument, to rule as tyrannically as he pleased during two years and seven months of every three years: and it might sufficiently answer his purpose to become a tyrant for that period, even though every law that he had made therein, should be rescinded before the expiration of the five months in which he was bound not to interrupt his parliament's proceedings. The clause rendering the Protectorship elective, also, was objectionable; for, wherever such a mode of succession prevails, the state must look for all the evils attendant upon the disputes of various claimants and their factions, universal popular division, and possibly even intestine war, upon the death of every chief magistrate. But Cromwell, at some future time, might hope to remedy these defects, and prevent their ill consequences, by assuming the constitutional regal functions: and by then imparting to each branch of the government those safe and useful *balancing* restrictions and freedoms, through which, while the representative must *concur* in every law, the executive has the power to *forbid* the passing of any; and, while the acts of the executive must be *unfettered*, the representative holds a constant

check upon them, by never surrendering up to it, even for the shortest period, the *purse-strings* of the people, and by the imposition, on its *ministers*, of *responsibility*.

Meanwhile, Cromwell, being destined, in his career of government, to feel the full weight of all the inconveniences described, was of a temper, as will be seen from the sequel, boldly to shake them from him, if he felt it necessary, 'like dew-drops from the lion's mane;' even though by so doing he should trespass, when provoked to it, upon the essential articles of that compact to which he had so solemnly sworn. The intervening months, between his inauguration and the 3rd of September, 1654, when it had been determined that his first Parliament should be summoned, rolled on smoothly enough; the only subject for disturbance being a petty royalist conspiracy, which was easily quelled. The jealousy we may so naturally suppose to have been felt by numbers of the old nobility, and the envy of that large body of men, subsisting in every state, who will always be wondering at, and vainly labouring to comprehend the sources of a power on a sudden assumed over themselves, alike seemed to want language or daring for their expression: the nation, that had refused obedience to its legal sovereign, submitted unresistingly to a sterner-featured, and usurped, though more equal and

just sway: and addresses, from some of the most considerable places in the kingdom, poured in to congratulate and acknowledge the power of the Protector, and promise him obedience. Ambassadors from France, Spain, Holland, Portugal, and Denmark, were at the same time present at his court, and striving which should most abjectedly prostrate themselves, and in their persons the governments they represented, before him. Don Alonso de Cardenas, the Spanish ambassador previously resident, 'in a private audience, congratulated his accession to the government, expressing the great satisfaction his master had received therein: in whose name he did assure him of the true and constant friendship of Spayne, in the condition that he then stood; or, *if he would go a step farther, and take upon him the crown,* that his master would venture the crown of Spayne to defend him in it;—with many other expressions of kindness and good-will.'* France, to keep pace with her then great continental rival, speedily accredited M. Bourdeaux to be ambassador-extraordinary to the Lord-Protector; and, through him, expressed her desire of 'entering into a league defensive and offensive with England, and of proceeding by joint coun-

* Thurloe.

sels towards Spayne: and that if England would either joyne their arms to France, or make war against Spayne upon their own bottom, they would contribute to the charge; desiring, in the mean tyme, that the former treatys between the two states might be renewed.'* The Dutch agents, probably, and with good reason, conceiving that their late losses in the contest with England, might be ascribed to the secret rule maintained by Cromwell over the little Parliament, rather than to the sagacity or warlike ability of that notable assembly, were urgent for an immediate cessation of hostilities, to afford time for the ratification of those articles of peace, which Cromwell, upon their humble applications, had offered them. Denmark, which had sent over an envoy specially to congratulate his Highness, was highly gratified to be included in the Dutch treaty. The terms granted by him to Portugal, were both bestowed and enforced in the loftiest tone. And Whitelock, then absent on his mission to Sweden, in a letter dated Upsal, January 13, 1654, after giving him a particular account of the pleasure the Queen of that country had expressed on his assuming the Protectorship, adds, 'she told me she would

* Thurloe.

write herself to my Lord-Protector, and desired me, in my letters, to acquaint your Highness, that no person had a greater esteem and respect for your Highness than she had, which she would be ready to manifest, and was very joyful for this good news from England.'* The particulars of Cromwell's transactions with some of these foreign states, may not be unacceptable to the reader.

The tenders of the French and Spanish monarchs, (both of whom, it is worth while to observe, were related to the exiled King), first demanded his attention. But he deliberated long, and with his accustomed gravity, and something less than his usual decision, as to the part he should take between the rival sovereigns, or whether he should take any part at all. His resolution was soonest formed upon the latter point: for he found that it would be politic, at least, to employ the as yet unsettled minds of his subjects, by the excitements generated during a course of foreign warfare. As to the country with which he should break, he at last decided that, since the general feeling in England, where the recollection of Elizabeth's times had hardly subsided, was against *Spain*—and as that nation, moreover, had been guilty of un-

* Thurloe.

provoked cruelties toward the English in America, while the only ground for hostility with France was her retention of Calais—he would, for these, and several minor reasons, espouse the cause of the French in opposition to that of the Spanish King. He has been much blamed by the writers of a subsequent era for this decision: but those writers have judged him from events posterior to his sway, without giving themselves the trouble to enter into his views, or impartially to consider the circumstances in which he was placed. He is accused of overturning the balance of power in Europe, by adding to the preponderance of France, and subtracting from the just weight of Spain, in the continental scale. Yet the fact clearly was, that Spain, and not France, had been the terror of Europe through all the late preceding reigns; and that if the power of France had at length *begun* to preponderate, it had so little *more* than begun to do so, that though future history might, the men of that age could not perceive it. Spain still had the *reputation* of being that power in Europe, the most dangerous to the repose of the rest: Spain had, in latter times, become more especially the enemy of England. And, besides, why do the pens, so ready ever to blacken Cromwell's character with imputed crime, forget that, in this instance, by following the policy they think would have been wisest, he would have in

reality deserved to be considered in the most criminal light;—for would he not have preserved peace with one nation, with which his country had just grounds of quarrel, in order to join in hostility against another, with which, at that time, it had none?

The court paid to the Protector by these potent enemies of each other, and so desirous both to reckon him 'in their list of friends,' was even such as to expose them to derision throughout the continent. The Dutch expressed their sense of it, by striking *medals*, sufficiently descriptive of the self-abasement to which they judged them capable of descending to win the favour of Cromwell, though not of the most decent kind. The French themselves, ever ready to make their sovereign at once their idol and their jest, had their *engravings*, whose subjects were very similar. 'To gratify him,' says Wicquefort,* 'Lockhart, who was ambassador from the Usurper, was not only received in France with all the honours that could have been done to the minister of the first monarch in Christendom, but Cardinal Mazarine even refused to see the King of Great Britain, (Charles II.) who had travelled quite through the kingdom to come to him at the foot of the

* Ambassador and his Functions.

Pyrenean hills; and would not so much as speak to the person that came from him, and waited at the door of the chief minister; who, at the same time, had daily conferences with the Usurper's. All that the dispossessed King could obtain was, that the Cardinal gave him leave that the Duke of Ormond (a nobleman in Charles's interest) should speak to him as he passed along, and as it were accidentally, as he came from his own quarters to the Isle of the Conference.' That the King of Spain 'behaved himself a little better to Charles,' the same writer acknowledges, 'proceeded only from the difference in his interest.' That is, when the Spanish monarch found all his arts had proved ineffectual to win over Cromwell to his side, he naturally ceased his adulation to him, and thought he could afford to treat his royal relative with a little more respect. *(cc)*

Bishop Burnet gives an anecdote, characteristic both of Cromwell and his countrymen, to the following purport, and the effect of which might be injured by being conveyed in any language but his own. "Blake, (the English Admiral) with the fleet, happened to be at Malaga, before he (Cromwell) made war upon Spain; and some of his seamen went on shore, and met the hostie carried about; and not only paid no respect to it, but laughed at those that did. So one of the priests put the people on re-

senting this indignity: and they fell upon them, and beat them severely. When they returned to their ship, they complained of this usage: and upon that, Blake sent a trumpet to the Viceroy, to demand the priest who was the chief instrument in that ill-usage. The Viceroy answered, he had no authority over the priest, and so could not dispose of him. Blake upon that sent him word, that he would not enquire who had the power to send the priest to him, but, if he were not sent within three hours, he would burn their town: and they, being in no condition to resist him, sent the priest to him, who justified himself upon the petulant behaviour of the seamen. Blake answered, that if he had sent a complaint to him of it, he would have punished them severely, since he would not suffer his men to affront the established religion of any place at which he touched: but he took it ill, that he set on the Spaniards to do it; for he would have all the world to know, that an Englishman was only to be punished by an Englishman. So he treated the priest civilly, and sent him back, being satisfied that he had him at his mercy. Cromwell was much delighted with this, and read the letters in council with great satisfaction; and said, *he hoped he should make the name of an Englishman as great as ever that of a Roman had been.*"*

* Burnet, in another place, asserts, that 'all *Italy* trem-

Meanwhile, treaties with Holland and Portugal were concluded; Cromwell carrying matters with a high hand in regard to both. The Dutch ambassadors were plainly told, that if his proffered articles were not signed before their departure from London, and mutual engagements passed for their ratification within a time to be agreed upon, His Highness would not hold himself obliged either to the whole or any part of them, but would consider the treaty as at an end. The chief stipulations required from the Dutch, in this treaty, were, that their flag should be struck at sea, upon all occasions, to the English; that restitution should be made for the losses sustained by the English East-India Company, from the past aggressions of theirs; that they should not permit the Prince of Orange, nor any of his descendants, to be their Stadtholder; and that they should prosecute and punish the authors of the massacre committed by their countrymen at Amboyna, and make satisfaction to the heirs and executors of the English sufferers there. Denmark, it has been noticed, was too happy to be included in

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bled at the name of Cromwell, and seemed under a panic fear as long as he lived. His fleet scoured the Mediterranean:—and the *Turks* durst not offend him; but delivered up Hyde, who kept the character of an ambassador from the King (Charles) there, and was brought over and executed for it.'

this treaty: Cromwell, after much difficulty, consenting that she should be considered an ally of the States of Holland, on condition that the latter should guarantee the compensation he required for the losses sustained by English merchants, from the seizure the Danish monarch had made of their ships in the port of Copenhagen. All things being thus adjusted, the peace with Holland was solemnly proclaimed in London, April 17, 1654. Upon which occasion, Cromwell entertained the ambassadors at dinner, 'the music playing all the while;' and, afterward, (continued one of the ambassadors to Thurloe), 'the Lord Protector had us into another room, where the Lady Protectrice and others came to us; where we had also music and voices, and a *Psalm* sung, which his Highness gave us, and told us, that it was the best paper that had been exchanged between us.' The Dutch struck medals, expressive of their sense of the happy re-establishment of friendship between the Protector and their High Mightinesses; and both the English Universities paid the most extravagant compliments to Cromwell, n collections of verses, composed by their most eminent and learned members expressly for the occasion.

The treaty with Portugal was brought to a conclusion under rather extraordinary circumstances. The Portuguese ambassador's brother

had been concerned in a murder in London, which had arisen out of a quarrel between himself and some of his train, and an English gentleman, at the New Exchange. After the commission of the crime, he had taken refuge in the ambassador's house, as in a privileged asylum; but, notwithstanding, he, and several more Portuguese, were seized, committed to Newgate, and, in due course, tried before the court even yet, by Whitelock, styled that of *King's* Bench.* Here, the chief criminal pleaded, that, not only as he was the ambassador's brother, but as he was by his royal master constituted ambassador in his brother's absence, he was by the law of nations exempt from trial; but, in disregard of this plea, upon the jury (consisting, as in all ordinary cases of the kind, of six denizens and six aliens) finding him guilty with the rest, all were sentenced to be hanged. Whereupon, the only mercy extended to him in quality of his functions, by the Protector, was commutation of the sentence

* More commonly, however, it would appear to have been now designated the *Upper* Bench. But its having, in any degree, retained its original appellation during the Protectorate, is the more remarkable, as, under Queens-Regnant, this court is always called the *Queen's* Bench, the chief magistrate, in person, being by law presumed to preside over its jurisdiction.

into beheading: and the unhappy ambassador himself, not to stay to witness the execution, signed the treaty with Cromwell at eight o'clock in the morning, and embarked at Gravesend at ten, of the same day, on the afternoon of which his brother proceeded, in a coach and six horses, in mourning, and attended with several of his retinue, to Tower-hill, where the awful ceremony was duly performed. This unfortunate occurrence, it thus appeared, was not, by the Portuguese agent, in prudence permitted to be any bar to the signature of a treaty, which Lord Chancellor Hyde himself considered, 'in very many respects, the most advantageous to this nation that was ever entered into with any prince or people.'* But, as the King of Portugal hesitated to confirm this treaty, Cromwell sent word to his renowned Admiral, Blake, to that effect: accompanied with his instructions to 'take, arrest, and seize upon the fleet or fleets belonging to the King of Portugal, or any of his subjects, now expected from the East or West Indies, and to keep and deteyne the same, without breaking of bulk, or embezilment, toward satisfaction for wrongs and damages,' &c.; unless Mr. Meadows, his envoy at the court of Portugal, should, before any such ac-

* Speech to both Houses, May 8, 1661.

tual seizure or act of hostility, give assurance that satisfaction had been obtained relative to the treaty; in which case his instructions should be void. These orders being signified to the Portuguese monarch, upon Blake's intimation, by the English agent, the treaty was ratified with all imaginable expedition. And additional satisfaction was made, by a very large sum of money, which was immediately shipped and sent to England.

CHAPTER XI.

FROM THE MEETING OF THE FIRST PARLIAMENT OF THE PROTECTORATE, TO THE EVENTS IMMEDIATELY PRECEDING THE SUMMONS OF THE SECOND.

Meeting of Parliament—Novel Distribution of the Writs—The Protector's Opening Speech—Observations on his Recent Government—The National Greatness—His Economical Administration—Universally Tolerant Principles—Impartial Execution of the Laws—Patronage of Learned Men—Political Liberality—Private Virtue—Lord Broghill's Attempt to procure an Union between Charles II. and one of Cromwell's Daughters—Its ill-success—Extraordinary Proceedings of the Parliament—The Protector's Reproof, and Interruption of their Functions—They Sign a Recognition of his Authority—Dissolution of the Parliament—Speech on that Occasion—The Cavalier Plot—Regulation of the Chancery Court—Capture of Jamaica—Cromwell's Speech to the Swedish Ambassador, and Unusual Honours conferred upon Him—He Endeavours to Win Over the Royalists—To procure Freedom of Trade for the Jews, &c. &c.—THE CHANGE in the Protector's Mode of Government, and its Causes—Hatred of nearly all Parties—Plots and Conspiracies—Projects to Assassinate Him—His Harshness toward the Cavaliers and Episcopal Clergy—Interferes with the Administration of Justice—*Packs Juries*—Nullifies the Privilege of *Habeas Corpus*—Appoints *Political* Major-generals—Solution of Cromwell's Latter Severity.

THUS was Cromwell proceeding in a truly glorious career; having, along with his magna-

nimous prosecution of foreign affairs, effected the incorporation of Scotland with England,* and distinguished his domestic administration by a dignified severity of air, attempered with much mildness in the actual exercise of his authority, when the Parliament assembled on the day so justly pleasing to his recollections, the 3rd of September. In calling this Parliament, it deserves particular remark, he had not observed 'the old course in sending writs out to all the *little* boroughs throughout England, which used to send burgesses, (by which method some single counties send more members to the Parliament than six other counties do). He took a more *equal* way, by appointing *more knights for every shire* to be chosen, and *fewer burgesses:* whereby the number of the whole was much lessened: and yet, the people being left to their own election, it was not, by him, thought an ill temperament; and was then generally looked upon as *an alteration fit to be more warrantably made, and in a better time.*'†

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* The Union of this period was in pursuance of an *Ordinance* by the Protector and Council, to which the consent of the Scots had been previously obtained, through their deputies from the shires and boroughs, convened at Dalkeith, and again at Edinburgh.

† Lord Clarendon.

The 3rd of September, this year, fell on a Sunday. The Protector, therefore, met the members in great state in the Abbey-church at Westminster. Upon the close of the afternoon service, they proceeded, in number about three hundred, to the Painted Chamber: where his Highness, standing bareheaded, on a platform erected for the purpose, informed them that, as the Lord's-day ought not to be taken up with ceremonies, he wished them to meet him again on the morrow in that place, but first to assemble at the Abbey by the time of morning service. There, at the time appointed, he again appeared himself, attended by his chief officers of state: and, after hearing a sermon preached especially for the occasion, again received the members in the Painted Chamber, and addressed them in what Whitelock calls 'a large and subtle speech.' Among other passages in it, which may sound a little extraordinary, were the following:

'When this was so, (speaking of the late Parliament's resignation), we were exceedingly to seek how to settle things for the future. My power, again, by this resignation, was as boundless and unlimited as before; all things being subjected to arbitrariness, and myself a person having power over the three nations, boundlessly, and unlimited; and upon the matter, all government dissolved, all civil administrations at an end, &c.

'They (the ostensible framers of the Instrument of Go-

vernment) told me, that except I would undertake this government, they thought things would hardly come to a composure and settlement; but blood and confusion would break in upon us. I denied it again and again, as God and those persons know; not complimentingly, as they also know, and as God knows. I confess, after many arguments, and after the letting of me know, that I did not receive any thing that put me into any higher capacity than I was in before, but that it limited me, and bound my hands to act nothing to the prejudice of these nations, without consent of a council, until the Parliament, and then limited by the Parliament, as the act of government expresseth, I did accept it. I might repeat this again to you if it were needful; but I think I need not. I was arbitrary in power, having the armies in the three nations under my command; and truly not very ill-beloved by them, nor very ill-beloved then by the people, by the good people; and I believe I should have been more, if they had known the truth, as things were before God, and in themselves, and before divers of those gentlemen I but now mentioned unto you.'

Some portions of this speech, which we might be warranted in supposing were more sincere, or which are less exceptionable, may not, perhaps, prove less interesting.

'This government (let men say what they will, I can speak with comfort before a greater than you all, as to my intentions, and let men judge out of the thing itself), is calculated for the interest of the people, for their interest alone, and for their good, without respect had to any other interest. It hath endeavoured to reform the laws;—it hath taken care to put into seats of justice, men of the most known integrity and ability;—it hath put a stop to that heady way, for every man that will to make himself a preacher; having endeavoured to settle

a way for approbation of men of piety and fitness for the work; and the business committed to persons, both of the Presbyterian and Independent judgment, men of as known ability and integrity as (I suppose) any the nation hath; and who (I believe) have laboured to approve themselves to God, and their own consciences, in approving men to that great function. One thing more; it hath been instrumental to call a *free* parliament: blessed be God, we see here, this day, a *free* parliament; and that it may continue so, I hope is in the heart of every good man of England: for my own part, as I desired it above my life, so to keep it free I shall value it above my life.

'This is a narrative, that discovers to you the series of Providence, and of transactions leading me into this condition wherein I now stand. I shall conclude with my persuasion to you, to have a sweet, gracious, and holy understanding one of another, and put you in mind of the council you heard this day thereunto. And I desire you to believe, that I speak not to you as one that would be a Lord over you, but as one that is resolved to be a fellow-servant with you to the interest of this great affair.'

In these passages, as the reader will see, nothing is ambiguously or imperfectly expressed; all is manly, candid, and (for the times) masterly. And, in fact, such was almost always the character of Cromwell's speeches; unless the statements he was under a conceived necessity to make in them were such, as, being opposed either to his conscience or real judgment, were intentionally wrapped in words leading from a subject that it was not safe fully to unveil, and thus naturally produced hesita-

tion, and a laboured circumlocutory method of expressing them. His assertion, that his government, up to that moment, had been calculated 'for the interest of the people, for their interest alone, and for their good, without respect had to any other interest,' was nearly literally true. It might not be too much to affirm, that never, since the days of Alfred, had a prince ruled over England, who so conspicuously united in himself all the qualities of a great, wise, and good governor. The national character abroad had, under him, attained to an elevation it had never previously known: and yet, he had not been more distinguished for the daring and majestic attitude he assumed toward the rest of the world, than for his connecting with the prosecution of his warlike affairs the most exact and rigid economy. *(dd)* At the close of a civil war, in the course of which so many religious heats had been generated, and were yet far from having ceased to effervesce, he insisted upon the maintenance of a neutrality between the conflicting religious sects, by all to whom his authority could extend: and, though a zealous supporter of the Protestant interest throughout Christendom, 'he suspended penal laws against Romish priests, and protected several of them under his hand and seal;'* and,

* Prynne's True and Perfect Narrative, &c. 4to. 1659.

indeed, bestowed marks of his favour upon all of that persuasion who fell in his way, and who appeared to deserve it. *(ee)* He had caused justice to be administered with undeviating impartiality: promoted learning, and learned men, *(ff)*: and more particularly regarded the welfare of the University of Oxford, of which he was Chancellor. *(gg)* He had preferred men of ability and integrity to public employments and honourable offices, without respect to their religious creeds, provided that their practice appeared sincere; and scarcely enquired even whether they were of his own political party, or royalists, or republicans, provided only that their demeanour was peaceable. *(hh)* Add to which, that, in his own person, he was an example of all the private virtues—humble, courteous, and consistent in his domestic conduct—the best of husbands and of fathers—the most affectionate of friends—impressed, equally perhaps with the most devout man of his times, with an habitual reverence of the Deity;—while that his court was the resort, not of profligate favourites or profane witlings, but of characters equally exalted by their piety and their learned attainments—the temple, not of pleasure and vice, but of cheerful gravity, and Christian purity;—and who will not regret, that impediments of every kind were now about to interrupt his career of greatness and good-

ness, in a manner to compel him, in his own defence, to reverse the picture, and become, throughout his future sway, in a more or less conspicuous degree, a severe taskmaster, and relentless tyrant? Had Cromwell, with all his talents and excellent qualities, ascended an *hereditary* throne, and governed a people of undivided loyalty, and whom no extraordinary circumstances had rendered incapable, for the time, of being ruled 'for their interest, for their interest alone, and for their good'—and especially by a man, who was not allowed even the old legitimate title of dominion over them—he would have shone as one of the brightest and most useful adornments of human kind. But, as *he* was placed on the throne of England, parties, without number, whose ramifications were without end, and whom persuasion could never induce to coalesce for any purpose but that of hindering his and their own repose, hemmed him in, from the era of his first Parliament, with difficulties, which no genius but his, possibly, could have subdued; and which, in order to subdue, even he felt himself obliged to adopt a conduct, that left him through the remainder of his life, (and from his death also to the existing moment), almost without a friend.

Lord Broghill, one of the most eminent and deserving of those, who, though originally roy-

alists, had by this time convinced themselves, that the most effectual service they could now render their country was to serve the Protector in faithfulness, appears from his "Memoirs," to have fully appreciated the evils that must ere long attach themselves to Cromwell's situation; and, in equal regard to the interest of his former and present master, to have about this period contemplated a singular preventative.* He relates, that, having opportunities now and then of a secret correspondence with some persons about the King, (Charles II.), he had by their means sounded the young monarch's inclinations, and found them *favourable* to a design he had formed of making a match between his Majesty and the Lady Frances, one of Cromwell's daughters;—his object being, by such an alliance, to procure the restoration of Charles, but without injury to Cromwell, for whom he evidently felt a sincere esteem. His Lordship goes on to say, that he received orders from Charles to promote the plan in every way that might lay in his power: and that therefore, having his Majesty's permission, he took occasion to move it to Cromwell in the following manner.—First acquainting the Pro-

* See an Anecdote of Cromwell and Lord Broghill, at a prior era, under *(t)* in the Appendix.

tectress and her daughter with his design, and then causing a rumour of the proposed match to be spread abroad, he one day went to Cromwell's closet; when the Protector immediately coming to him, and walking with him alone, enquired where he had been? "In the city," replied his Lordship. "What news there?" said Cromwell. "Very strange news," gravely answered his Lordship. The Protector earnestly asking what it was, Broghill affected mystery for a while: repeating only, with a smile, that it was strange news, but that his Highness might be offended to hear it. Cromwell seemed but ill to brook this delay, assured his Lordship that he would take no offence at the intelligence, whatever it might be, and again conjured him to let him know it. In a jocular way, Lord Broghill then informed him all the talk in the city was, that he was going to marry his daughter to the King. With 'a merry countenance,' Cromwell rapidly asked —"And what do the fools think of it?" His Lordship replied, that "all liked it, and thought it the wisest thing he could do, if he could accomplish it." Upon which, the Protector made a stand—looked stedfastly in Lord Broghill's face—and asked him, "And do you believe so too?" Seeing Cromwell a little moved, his Lordship answered, that he did believe it was the best thing he could do to secure

himself.—Cromwell walked up and down the room, with his hands behind him, in a thoughtful manner.—At last, he enquired of Broghill "what reason he had to be of that belief?" His Lordship then plainly imparted his convictions, that the Protector could but little confide even in his own party; and represented how unlikely it was that he should continue long in his grandeur, the very same persons who set him up being willing to pull him down: but observed that, on the other hand, the King, in his great exigencies, would be ready enough to hearken to any propositions rather than live in exile; so that he might make his own terms with him, and be General of all the forces during life. He added other reasons, at some length; and Cromwell gave them great attention: but, after again traversing the room two or three times, still pondering within himself, he abruptly told his Lordship "the King would never forgive him the death of his father." (Meaning, not that he feared any thing from a supposed excess in Charles's filial piety; but, as will hereafter appear, that he suspected the sincerity of the young king, and that family connections would be little regarded by him, when the power of punishing the republicans, upon the score of his father's death, should be placed in his hands.) Lord Broghill offered to sound Charles upon the subject, and to mediate be-

tween them. But the Protector would not consent; again repeating—"the King cannot and will not forgive the death of his father"—and with these words left him; his Lordship not daring to tell him he had already applied to Charles upon the matter. He afterward told the Protectress and Lady Frances of his ill success; and added, that they must try their interest with the Protector: but nothing, he concludes, could prevail.—Both Bishop Burnet and Mr. Noble repeat this anecdote; but both imperfectly, and both, in part, with some improbable variations.

It is painful to recollect, that the earliest act of direct tyranny visible in Cromwell, after the conference of the Protectorship, was produced by a clearly unwarrantable proceeding of the *free* Parliament, whom he so justly made it his boast to have called. The very first subject that assembly took upon themselves to debate, was, 'Whether the House shall *approve* the government to be in one single person and a Parliament'!—a question, which, had it been decided in the negative, must, in virtue of the Instrument of Government, have deprived the Protector of his power after twenty days from its being passed; and that, by the vote of the very men, who derived from himself the authority to pass it. It would be an unnecessary labour to attempt to prove—what, indeed, is

nearly self-evident--that those, who had been returned to Parliament in pursuance of writs from the Protector, and who, by the very act of assembling as a Parliament in such pursuance, acknowledged his official character, could have no right to intermeddle with the *frame* of the government, which alone, in strictness of speech, had given themselves 'a local habitation and a name.' In fairness, it may be presumed, however, that they erred in this particular, from the undue extension of a principle, sound in itself, that the representative portion of the true Parliament of England (i. e. a Parliament consisting of King, Lords, and Commons) has a right to deliberate upon the person who shall in future possess, and upon any alteration of the functions that shall in future attach to the executive power, provided always that the executive portion itself of the same Parliament has the privilege of a negative upon the result, (but which Cromwell, it has been seen, had not);—as truly as, that the people represented, collectively taken, have the right, upon a fitting occasion, (to be judged of by themselves), not only to deliberate, but to act, in regard not only to the person who shall, but to the person who does possess the executive power; —and the same in regard to the legislative also. *(ii)* Cromwell at first evinced much temper as to this extraordinary conduct in his Par-

liament: permitting them to argue the subject for three following days, without the slightest hint of an intention to interfere. But, finding that the debates grew high, and that a language was assumed by the republican party, derogatory to his essential dignity and eminence in the state, he suddenly sent a message to the House to meet him in the Painted Chamber. They came: and he addressed them in a long speech, properly expressive of some indignation and resentment at their proceedings, and containing many just views of their and his own power.

'I told you, (said he, speaking of his opening of the House) you were a *free* Parliament; and so you are, whilst you own the government and authority that called you hither; for that word implied a reciprocation, or it implied nothing at all. The same government that made you a Parliament, made me Protector; and, as you were intrusted with some things, so was I with all other things. There were some things in the government fundamental, and that cannot be altered; namely, that the government should be in one person and a Parliament, &c. and I think your actions and carriages ought to be suitable; but I see it will be necessary for me now a little to magnify my office, which I have not been apt to do.

'I had this thought within myself, that it had not been dishonest, nor dishonourable, nor against true liberty, no, not of Parliaments, when a Parliament was so chosen,--that *an owning of your call*, and of the authority bringing you hither, might have been required before your entrance into the

House; but this was declined, and hath not been done, because I am persuaded scarce any man could reasonably doubt you came with contrary minds. And I have reason to believe, the people that sent you least doubted thereof at all: and therefore I must deal plainly with you. What I forbore upon a just confidence at first, you will necessitate me unto now: that, seeing the authority that called you is so little valued, and so much slighted, till some such assurance be given and made known, that the fundamental interest of the government be settled and approved—*I have caused a stop to be put to your entrance into the Parliament House!*

'I am sorry, I am sorry, and I could be sorry to the death, that there is cause for this: but there is cause; and if things be not satisfied that are reasonably demanded, I, for my part, shall do that which becomes me, seeking my counsel from God. There is, therefore, somewhat to be offered to you:—the making your minds known in that, by your giving your assent and subscription to it, is that which will let you in to act those things as a Parliament which are for the good of the people. And this thing shewed to you, and signed as aforesaid, doth determine the controversy, and may give a happy progress and issue to this Parliament. The place where you may come thus and sign, as many as God shall make free thereunto, is in the lobby without the Parliament-door.'

Thus authoritatively harangued the Protector: and we may conceive something of the effect produced in the minds of his auditors, from the fact, that not one of those, who had been so loud and turbulent in the House, in his absence, appears to have been capable of a word in reply to him. Proceeding to the scene of their late noisy deliberations, the

members found their ingress prevented by guards; and were informed they would not be permitted to enter, until they had signed the following recognition in the lobby.—'I do hereby freely promise and engage, to be true and faithful to the Lord Protector, and the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and shall not, according to the tenor of the indenture whereby I am returned to serve in this present Parliament, propose, or give my consent, to alter the government, as it is settled in one person and a parliament.' But this recognition was explained not to be understood to preclude the members from taking at all into consideration the instrument of government; 'but only what concerned the government of the commonwealth, as settled in one person and a parliament.' Whereupon, it was subscribed by the Speaker, Lenthall, and other members, in the whole to the number of 130; and these, having again taken their places, immediately adjourned for that day, in order to give time to the rest of their colleagues, if upon reflection so disposed, to follow their example.

Making every allowance for Cromwell, in the circumstances in which he was placed, there was an arbitrariness in this subjection of the Parliament to a mere military force, that scarce needs to be remarked. However, the admitted members were content to stifle their resent-

ment; and, on the third day following, resolved that they would themselves permit none to sit in the House, who had not signed the recognition. Major-general Harrison, though formerly so zealous in Cromwell's cause, was of the number of those, who could at no rate be persuaded to acknowledge him in his present conduct: on the contrary, the Major-general, delivered from his enthusiastic attachment to his superior, so strongly reprobated these violent measures, that the Protector thought it necessary to order his arrest, and he was in consequence secured by a party of horse. Afterward, the great majority of the members subscribed the recognition; and joined in the further consideration of the Instrument of Government, (which they declared 'they could not swallow without chewing;') so continuing to word their deliberations, that, Whitelock observes, 'the government by a Protector was still (virtually) the subject of the House's debate.' They spoke 'many things, which gave great offence to the Protector and his Council, and cause of suspicion that no good was to be expected from them.' 'And though,' adds Whitelock, 'they made what haste they could to finish their debates, they were not likely to come to a good issue; and the Protector began to be weary of the Parliament, and to have thoughts of dissolving it.' Hereupon, 'he was advised to the contrary, upon experience

of the former inconveniences upon the dissolution of Parliaments, which ever caused ill-blood;' but, especially, 'not to dissolve it till after the time was passed that they were to sit by the Instrument of Government. But the Protector was determined; and some of his council were not backward to promote what they perceived he was inclined to have done.' Accordingly, dissolve the Parliament he did, upon the 22nd of January, (1655),—at the end of five *lunar* months from the commencement of its sitting—or nearly a fortnight before he might legally have done so by authority of the Instrument. There are several just and noble sentiments, and some curious passages, in his speech to the members upon this dissolution; such as the following:—

Rebuking them for their conduct in general, he takes occasion particularly to remark upon the intolerant spirit they had evinced toward conscientious dissenters from their religious opinions.

Had not *you* laboured but lately under the weight of persecutions, and was it fit for you to sit heavy upon others? Is it ingenuous to ask liberty, and not to give it? What greater hypocrisy, than for those who were oppressed by the bishops, to become the greatest oppressors themselves as soon as their yoke was removed? I could wish that those who call for liberty (in religious matters) now, also had not too much of that spirit, if the power were in their hands.

'I will not presage what you have been about ordering in all this time, nor do I love to make conjectures: but I must tell you this; that, as I undertook this government in the simplicity of my heart, and as before God, and to do the part of an honest man, and to be true to the interest which, in my conscience, is dear to many of you, * * * so I can say, that no particular interest, either of myself, estate, honour, or family, are, or have been, prevalent with me to this undertaking: for * * * * if this one thing had been inserted, that this government should have been placed in my family *hereditarily*, I would have rejected it; and I could have done no other, according to my present conscience and light. I liked it, when this government came first to be proposed to me, that it put us off that hereditary way; well looking, that as God had declared what government he had delivered to the Jews, and placed it upon such persons (the Judges) as had been instrumental for the conduct and deliverance of his people; and considering that promise in Isaiah, that God would give rulers as at the first, and judges as at the beginning, I did not know but that God might begin; and though, at present, with a most unworthy person, yet, as to the future, it might be after this manner, and I thought this might usher it in. I am speaking as to my judgment * * * to have men chosen for their love to God, and to truth, and justice, and not to have it hereditary; for, as it is in Ecclesiastes—'Who knoweth whether he may beget fool or wise, honest or not?'—whatever they be, they must come in upon that account, because the government is made a patrimony. I have thus told my thoughts; which truly I have declared to you in the fear of God, as knowing he will not be mocked; and in the strength of God, as knowing and rejoicing that I am kept in my speaking; especially *when* I do not form or frame things without the compass of integrity and honesty, that my own conscience gives me not the lie to what I say; and then, in what I say I can rejoice.'

Speaking of the necessity he should now be under to raise money, and to do other things 'for the benefit of the nation,' without parliamentary authority, he observes that some may

'Object—it is an easy thing to talk of necessities, when men create necessities. Would not the Lord Protector make himself great, and his family great? Doth not he make these necessities? And then he will come upon the people with this argument of necessity. This were something hard indeed; but I have not yet known what it is to make necessities, whatsoever the judgement or thoughts of men are. And I say this not only to this assembly, but to the world, that that man liveth not, that can come to me, and charge me that I have in these great revolutions made necessities. I challenge even all that fear God; and, as God hath said, "My glory will I not give unto another," let men take heed, and be twice advised, how they call his revolutions—the things of God, and his workings of things from one period to another- how, I say, they call them necessities of man's creation; for, by so doing, they do vilify and lessen the works of God, and rob him of his glory, which he hath said he will not give unto another, nor suffer to be taken from him. It was (say some) the cunning of the Lord Protector, (I take it to myself); it was the craft of such a man, and his plot, that hath brought it about: and, (as they say in other countries) there are five or six cunning men in England, that have skill; they do all these things. Oh! what blasphemy is this! because that men are without God in this world, and walk not with him, and know not what it is to pray, or believe, and to receive returns from God, and to be spoken unto by the spirit of God, who speaks without a written word sometimes, yet according to it. Therefore, whatever you may judge men for, and say —"this man is cunning, politic, and subtle,"—take heed,

again I say, how you judge of His revolutions as the products of men's inventions.'

Then, after severely observing upon the neglect of the House to provide money for the pay of the Army, whereby, he says, they had been obliged to live upon free quarter, he adds:—

'I have troubled you with a long speech, and I believe it may not have the same resentment with all that it hath with some; but, because that is unknown to me, I shall leave it to God; and conclude with that I think myself bound in my duty to God, and the people of these nations, to their safety and good in every respect—I think it my duty to tell you—that it is not for the profit of these nations, nor for the common and public good, for you to continue here any longer: and, therefore, I do declare unto you, that I do dissolve this Parliament.'

In one part of this long, and frequently intricate speech, he intimated his knowledge of a conspiracy at that moment forming by the Royalists; and to which, he appears to have surmised, the Parliament afforded some countenance. Indeed, Whitelock says, the Protector affirmed 'that to have been a chief motive and cause of his dissolving them.' This conspiracy, which has been commonly designated "The Cavalier Plot,' was 'generally laid to bring in the King; and the design so far took effect, that, in several counties, small armed

parties began to gather into a body.' But the promptitude of Cromwell's measures deprived them of a chance of success; as his intelligence, (to procure which, Ludlow says, 'he spared not the purse of the Commonwealth'), had not left him in ignorance of any part of their designs. All the principals were arrested, before even they were prepared to act. Among others, a Major John Wildman was apprehended while "dictating to his man, who sat writing by him. His papers were seized: and that which the man was writing was sent up to the Protector. It was intituled 'The Declaration of the free and well-affected People of England, *now in arms* against the *Tyrant*, OLIVER CROMWELL, ESQ.:' and many who viewed it (continues Whitelock) knew there was too much truth in it: and, had not the design been nipt in the bud, it might have caused some disturbance to the Protector, and to the peace of the new government." The most considerable rising took place at Salisbury: where Colonel Penruddock, Captain Grove, and some others, seized the Judges, who were then going the western circuit, and proclaimed Charles II. King of England. These malcontents, however, were speedily forced to fly before a military party of Cromwell's; which, overtaking them at South Molton, in Devonshire, put them to the rout after a smart resistance. Penruddock and Grove were soon

afterward beheaded at Exeter. The insurrection thus easily quelled, rather irritated Cromwell than shook his power: it rendered the royal party more hopeless of future success, and actually placed it farther from them, by affording the Protector a pretext for strengthening his chief instrument against their designs, the Army.

One of the first proceedings of Cromwell, following the suppression of this conspiracy, was the publication of an ordinance, (framed, with others, with a view to gain the affections of the people), for regulating the Court of Chancery: but which Whitelock, and his fellow Commissioner of the Seal, Widdrington, considering likely to produce prejudicial consequences, had the virtuous boldness to neglect to execute; and they continued to conduct their business in the ordinary manner. Whereupon, after a temperate delay, the Protector dispatched an order to them, and the other Lords Commissioners, to attend with the seal upon him in Council. When he gravely told them, 'he was sorry some of them could not satisfy their consciences, to execute the ordinance concerning the chancery: but he confessed that every one was to satisfy himself in a matter to be performed by him; and that he had not the worse opinion of any man for refusing to do that whereof he was doubtful.' But,

since 'the affairs of the Commonwealth did require a conformity of the officers thereof, and their obedience to authority,' he was 'compelled to put the great seal into the hands of some others, who might be satisfied that it was their duty to perform his command, and to put the ordinance into execution.' Whitelock replied, that his own and Widdrington's 'scruple was not upon the authority of his Highness and the Council, as to the command of all matters concerning the government of the Commonwealth; but only as to the effect of this ordinance, which they apprehended, and for which apprehension they had formerly given their reasons, would be of great prejudice to the public, and contrary to what they had by their oath promised.' Sir Thomas Widdrington spoke to the same purpose: and the Protector then directing them to lay down the seal, they withdrew. Afterward, Whitelock adds, the Protector, 'being good-natured,' 'to make them some recompense, appointed them commissioners of the treasury.' The whole affair may be considered honourable both to Cromwell and the commissioners. To Cromwell, for his regulations, intended to lessen a conceived excess of power in the Chancery Court —his tenderness toward the official agents, who could not enter into his views on the subject—and his care to prevent their suffer-

ing loss by their conscientious conduct; and to the Commissioners, for the sacrifice of their dignity and interests to their conceived official duty.

What relates to the remaining public transactions, in the interval between the dissolution of the late and the assembling of the following Parliament, will be seen to contain matter, affording a farther insight into the real character, and peculiar talents, of Cromwell.

The most important foreign intelligence received, was that of the failure of the commanders Penn and Venables, in an attack they had made upon Hispaniola; in pursuance of the general instructions of the Protector, to attempt such of the Spanish possessions in the West Indies, as they should judge, upon their arrival in that quarter of the globe, most practicable to be carried with the forces under them. It would seem that ambition in these commanders, to conquer a large and celebrated settlement, to the reduction of which their means were inadequate—together with jealousy and disunion between themselves, and the same between the land and sea forces—were the causes of this miscarriage. But their temporary disgrace was more than removed by the success of the remains of the armament, in the capture of the island of Jamaica; an acquisition, all things considered, of greater value to Eng-

land, and from which Venables himself said, 'nothing diverted their first attempt, but that it wanted a name in the world.' Cromwell was very sensible of its importance: and proceeded immediately to afford all possible encouragement to the new settlers there, together with every necessary supply. So careful was he, Whitelock tells us, 'to lose no advantage of what he had got a footing in.'

An Ambassador arriving from the new King of Sweden, Cromwell received him in great state; and with a demeanour, that, more conspicuously than usual, united the ease of the courtier with the dignity of the Prince. But, 'to speak the truth of him,' said Mrs. Hutchinson, 'he had much natural greatness, and well became the place he had usurped.' On this occasion, after the Ambassador had made his compliments, the Protector, 'with a carriage full of gravity and state', replied to them in the following neatly turned speech:

'My Lord Ambassador:—I have great reason to acknowledge with thankfulness the respect and good affection of the King, your master, towards this Commonwealth, and towards myself in particular; whereof I shall always retain a very grateful memory, and shall be ready upon all occasions to manifest the high sense and value I have of his majesty's friendship and alliance. My Lord, you are very welcome into England; and, during your abode here, you shall find all due regard and respect to be given to your person; and to the

business about which you are come. I am very willing to enter into a nearer and more strict alliance and friendship with the King of Swedland; as that which, in my judgement, will tend much to the honour and commodity of both nations, and to the general advancement of the Protestant interest. I shall nominate some persons to meet and treat with your Lordship upon such particulars as you shall communicate to them.'

Than which brief reply, Dr. Harris, without much hazard of disproof, observes, 'a better is not to be found in England in Cromwell's age.' To which it is with justice added, that the man, who, (having spent so large a portion of his life in the manner that he had), 'could act his part (in public ceremonials) so gracefully, must have had a genius of a peculiar turn, and greatly superior to the common class of men.' Even Lord Clarendon admits, that, 'as he grew into place and authority, his parts seemed to be raised, as if he had concealed his faculties till he had occasion to use them: and, when he was to act the part of a great man, he did it without any indecency, notwithstanding the want of custom.' Previously to the Ambassador's departure, Cromwell conferred on him the honour of *knighthood;* presented him with his picture, in a case of gold, set round with diamonds, valued at one thousand pounds, and a gold chain valued at four hundred pounds;

and had him to dine and hunt with him at Hampton Court. *(kk)*

The Protector, in his endeavours to win over his enemies by acts of kindness, now gave liberty to numerous malcontent lords and others, upon their own security for their peaceable behaviour. And, along with his other efforts to obtain the favourable opinion and support of the old nobility, most of whom had been engaged for the King, and now shewed their ill-humour, so far as they durst, by keeping at a distance from him, he would occasionally revert to the tricks of former times. 'The nobles and great men,' says Bates, '(for with some of them he had an intimacy) he delighted with raillery and jesting; contended with them in *mimical gestures;* and entertained them with merry collations, music, hunting, and hawking.' The aged Marquis of Hertford, who, in his own words, 'had served King Charles all along, and been of his private council,' Cromwell sent to condole with on the afflicting loss of his son, Lord Beauchamp, and invited to dine with him. The venerable peer not daring to refuse, the Protector treated him with all imaginable kindness and respect; and, after dinner, leading him into his drawing-room, addressed him as 'a great and wise man, and of great experience, and much versed in the business of government;' and concluded with so-

liciting his advice how to 'bear the weight of business that was upon him.' The Marquis, surprised and perplexed, again and again begged to be excused: but Cromwell bade him speak freely, and, whatever he said, it should not turn to his prejudice. Upon which, after a short preface, the so many ways unhappy nobleman exclaimed, '*Our* YOUNG MASTER *that is abroad (that is, my master, and the master of us all) restore to him his crowns!*' Cromwell, undisturbed, replied (in terms very similar to those he has been seen to have used upon a former occasion) that '*the* YOUNG GENTLEMAN *could not forgive;*' and that neither, '*in his circumstances, could* HE *trust:*' but the Marquis, agreeably to the Protector's promise, never had the slightest reason to repent the boldness of his counsel.—Burnet tells us, the Protector "understood that one Sir Richard Willis was Chancellor Hyde's (then abroad with Charles II.) chief confidant, to whom he wrote often, and to whom all the party submitted, looking on him as an able and wise man, in whom they confided absolutely. So he found a way to talk with him. He said, *he did not intend to hurt any of the party;* his design was rather to save them from ruin: they were apt, after their cups, to run into foolish and ill-concerted plots, which signified nothing but ruin to those who engaged in them. He knew they con-

sulted him in every thing: all he desired of him was to know all their plots, *that he might so disconcert them, that none might ever suffer for them:* if he clapt any of them up in prison, it should be only for a little time; and they should be interrogated only about some trifling discourse, but never about the business they had been engaged in. He offered Willis whatever he would accept of, and to give it when or as he pleased. He durst not ask or take above 200*l.* a year. Thus Cromwell had all the King's party in a net. He let them dance in it at pleasure: and, upon occasion, clapt them up for a short while: but nothing was ever discovered (i. e. by means of Willis) that hurt any of them."—"One day, in a gay manner, Oliver told Lord Broghill that an old friend of his was just come to town. The Lord Broghill desired to know whom his Highness meant. Cromwell, to his great surprise, answered, the Marquis of Ormond, (who had been one of the King's staunchest adherents in Ireland). The Lord Broghill protesting he was wholly ignorant of it, 'I know that well enough,' said the Protector: 'however, if you have a mind to preserve your old acquaintance, let him know that I am neither ignorant where he is, nor what he is doing.' He then told him the place where the Marquis lodged; and Lord Broghill, having received

this generous permission to save his friend, went directly to him, and acquainted him with what had passed; who, finding himself discovered, instantly left London, and with the first opportunity returned to the King."*—Such, *at first*, was Cromwell's humane policy in regard to the royal party; a policy he preserved, in occacasional instances, throughout his reign. If, when he found no kind usage would put a stop to that party's attempts against his government and person, he resorted to severe measures, his *active* and *discovered* enemies, at least, among them, might surely thank themselves.

Willing to extend his tolerant principles to the *Jews*, the Protector about this time also appointed an assembly of men of various professions, divines, lawyers, and merchants, to take into consideration the expediency of permitting them to trade in England; leave for which had been supplicated by Manasseth Ben Israel, one of their chief rabbis; but the general prejudices were as yet too strong against that people, to allow of their obtaining the liberty desired.†—

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* Budgell's Memoirs of the Boyles.

† This persecuted race appear, in every country where they were permitted to sojourn, to have heard of the fame and liberal principles of Cromwell; and even to have conceived strong hopes of the dawn of an happier era for themselves,

Accounts of all the receipts and disbursements of the Treasury, were now ordered to be presented to the Commissioners, and by them to the Protector, *weekly*.—Duellists were committed to prison by the Protector's warrant.—On the death of Dr. Usher, Ex-Archbishop of Armagh, (to whom, in his life-time, he had shewn every kindness consistent with the abolition of episcopacy,) Cromwell ordered him to he interred in Westminster Abbey, and gave two hundred pounds to his relations, to defray the expences of the funeral.

But while Cromwell was thus still labouring, by the wisest and gentlest means, to promote whatever could contribute to the tranquillity, improvement, and prosperity of the nations he governed, all things but too speedily tended to shew, that his must be a reign of terror, if he intended to preserve either his high station or his life. The Irish, and yet more the Scotch, it was very visible, nourished toward him the rancorous aversion, not uncommon with the natives of conquered countries. (*ll*) The Scotch

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from the ascendancy of such a star over the political horizon of Europe. A remarkable instance of this was afforded in the arrival of a Jew in England, from a remote part of Asia, for the sole purpose of investigating Cromwell's pedigree: the sanguine Israelite expecting to find in him the *Lion of the tribe of Judah!*

party for the King, comprised in England itself great numbers of the Presbyterians, who in general most cordially detested him. The large body of sequestered and ejected Episcopalian clergy, although it was the Presbyterians alone by whom they had as yet suffered, joined with them in the bitterest feelings toward the man, whom, as he seemed to prevent the restoration of kingly government, and with it of episcopacy, they regarded as the source of their continued woes. Many were the conscientious or more scrupulous of even his own religious party, who, deeming him an apostate from 'the good old (political) cause,' withheld from him their support. And the very royalists not only affected the language of republicanism, but coalesced with the republicans themselves, to destroy him. Plots and conspiracies followed each other in almost exhaustless succession: all, it is true, were watched and disconcerted by the Protector: but all added to his corroding anxieties; and gave a severity to his temper, that made his rule at last an iron despotism, to which his individual acts of clemency and goodness became occasional exceptions, rather than, as at the commencement of his protectorate, the proofs of a generally mild and innoxious sway. Intimations of projects to assassinate him, known to meet with too much encouragement from a Prince then resident abroad,

he received continually;—but these he treated with contempt. Indeed, 'to speak truth,' observed Mrs. Hutchinson, 'Cromwell's personal courage and magnanimity upheld him against all enemies and malcontents.' In the same spirit, he had previously regarded a proclamation of Charles II.,* (in 1654,) offering 500*l.* per annum, and knighthood, to any one who would destroy him by 'pistol, sword, or poison, or otherwise.' The dastardly spirit that dictated such a proclamation, needs no comment; it was in fact the precise spirit, only taking a contrary direction, that would have led Charles to marry the Protector's daughter, to regain his crown. How well did Cromwell read the disposition of the Prince, in refusing to accede to this matrimonial bargain!—how just were his suspicions of the family, whom, all experience had shewn him, 'he could not trust'! Burnet makes the Protector, however, from prudential motives, so far notice the rumours of this kind that reached him, as "often and openly" to say, "that assassinations were such detestable things, he would never *begin* them: but that, if any of the King's party should endeavour to assassinate him, and fail in it, he would make an assassinating war of it, and

* Given by Thurloe.

destroy the whole family:" adding, that he "pretended he had instruments to execute this threat, whenever he should give order for it." "The terror of this," the Bishop farther remarks, "was a better security to him than his guards."

But, as a consequence of so many irritating discoveries, added to the disquietude occasioned him by the 'Cavalier Plot,' his escape from which has been narrated, Cromwell was at length thoroughly provoked; and, being so, he commenced a system of government, to which, considered as to its general tenor, can in justice be applied only the epithet of merciless. He chastised the whole body of Cavaliers without distinction, by an order, that 'all those who had *ever* borne arms for the King, or declared themselves of the royal party, should be *decimated*;' that is, 'pay a tenth part of all that estate which they had left, to support the charge which the commonwealth was put to, by the unquietness of their tempers, and the just cause of jealousy which they had administered.' And, by a farther order, they were rendered 'incapable to be elected, or to give their vote in the election of any person or persons, to any office or place of trust or government within the commonwealth; or to hold or execute, by themselves or deputies, any such office or place; until his High-

ness's command was farther known.' Several of rank were also imprisoned, against whom little more was alleged, than that they *had been* of the royal party. It was true, as was asserted in vindication of this conduct by the Protector and his Council, 'the character of difference between them (the Cavaliers) and the rest of the people, which was now put upon them, was occasioned by themselves, not by the government. There was nothing they had more industriously laboured in, than to keep themselves separated and distinguished from the well-affected of the nation. To which end, they had kept their conversation apart, as if they would avoid the very beginnings of union; had bred and educated their children by the sequestered and ejected clergy, and very much confined their marriages and alliances with their own party; as if they meant to entail their quarrel, and prevent the means to reconcile posterity. Which, (it was added), together with the great pains they took upon all occasions to lessen and suppress the esteem and honour of the English nation, in all their actions and undertakings abroad, and their striving withal to make other nations distinguish their interest from it, gave ground to judge that they had separated themselves from the body of the nation: and, therefore, the government left it to all man-

kind to judge, whether they ought not to be timely jealous of that separation, and so to proceed against them, as they might be at the charge of those remedies, which were required against the dangers they had bred.' Admitting all these positions, on which Cromwell's severities were grounded, in their fullest extent, the conduct of the Cavaliers, as a body, however imprudent, will be acknowledged to have been but natural to men under their circumstances: and the infliction of punishment upon their whole party, could no more be justified upon such grounds alone, without proof of their individual delinquency as active enemies of the state, than could a similar punishment, if it had been thought necessary, of the Republicans, who kept themselves quite as distinct in their conversation, marriages, &c. from the King's friends. The natural, though intemperate language of the *inoffensive* Royalists, when so oppressed, was conveyed to Cromwell in a 'Letter from a True and Lawful Member of Parliament,'* published at the time. In which, addressing the Protector, the writer says: "You have cancelled all obligations of trust; and taken away all possible confidence from all men,

* Thought to be written by Lord Chancellor Hyde, then on the continent with the young King.

that they can ever enjoy any thing they can call their own under this government: and, having so little pleasure in life, they will prefer the losing it in some noble attempt to free their country and themselves from the bondage and servitude they live under, to the dying ignobly in some loathsome prison *when you please to be afraid of them.*"

Though, of all men living in that age, Cromwell, it is clear, cannot be charged with prejudices against any denomination of men for their religion's sake; yet, exasperated as he now was at the general conduct of the royal party, and suspecting that the *Episcopalian Ministers* were among the most zealous, by fomenting the heart-burnings of the Cavaliers, to divide them from the body of the nation, and disaffect them to his government, he became their harshest of persecutors also, though expressly upon political and not religious grounds. By a proclamation, dated October 4, 1655, 'His Highness, by advice of his Council, doth declare and order, that no person or persons aforesaid' (whose estates had been sequestered for delinquency, or who had been in arms against the Parliament) 'do, from and after the first day of January, 1656, keep in their houses and families, as chaplains or school-masters, for the education of their children, any sequestered or ejected minister,

fellow of any college, or school-master, or permit any of their children to be taught by such,' —that no such sequestered or ejected person should, after the same day, 'keep any school, either public or private,'—nor 'preach in any public place, or at any private meeting of any other persons than those of his own family, nor administer baptism, or the Lord's supper, nor marry any persons, nor use the Book of Common Prayer,' &c. 'Nevertheless, his Highness did declare, that, towards such of the said persons as had, since their sequestration or ejection, given, or should thereafter give, a real testimony of their godliness and good affection to the present government, so much tenderness should be used, as might consist with the safety and good of the nation.' But, in spite of the last more clement clause, persecution has been justly said to be written on the face of this edict: for, it is certain, whatever might have been the practices of many of the Episcopal clergy, there were amongst them wise, pious, learned, and peaceable men, who merited very different treatment. Though, on the other hand, in justice to the Protector it must be said, that, contrary to his own declaration, he winked at, or more openly permitted some worthy Episcopalians' officiating in the places of public worship, without subjecting them to any

inconveniences on that account; and, indeed, ever 'used tenderness' toward such of them as were *known* to him not to be obnoxious by their private characters or political principles, however numbers, who were equally innocent with these, might be aggrieved.

The Protector's general desire that strict impartiality should be observed in the administration of public justice, has been most properly commended by men of all parties, including his very enemies. Still, it must be admitted, that though, 'in matters, which did not concern *the life of his jurisdiction*, he seemed to have great reverence for the law, rarely interposing between party and party'*—and though 'Westminster-hall was never replenished with more learned and upright Judges than by him; nor justice, either in law or equity, in civil cases, more equally distributed, *where he was not a party*'†—yet in matters that *did* concern the life of his jurisdiction, and in cases where he, as concerned for the peace of the country, *was* a party, he was of a disposition to be scrupulous of no means, however arbitrary, that might secure the conviction and punishment of offenders. This disposition, un-

* Lord Clarendon. † Coke.

fortunately, had too good an opportunity to manifest itself on the trials of the insurgents in the West: and, accordingly, his agents took care that the juries, who were to sit upon those unhappy men, should be such as might 'be confided in, and of the honest well-affected party to his Highness and the present government.'* And, on another such occasion, they promised, that there should 'be no diligence or care wanting to pick up such as were right.†' Yet thus, in cases involving the life and death of the accused persons, to pack whole juries of men, whose minds are known to be already made up to the *law*, and more than prejudiced as regards the *fact*, upon which they are called upon to decide—what is it, in effect, but to condemn *without* trial, since the trial allowed can, in no sense of the word, be called a '*fair free*' one? But Cromwell went beyond even this, in such matters: for Whitelock assures us, that 'Baron Thorpe and Judge Newdigate were *put out of their places*, for not observing the Protector's pleasure in all his commands.' The truly estimable Hale, (raised to the bench by Cromwell,) when upon one of his circuits, was given to understand that a jury had been re-

* Letter from the High Sheriff of Wilts. to Thurloe, Cromwell's Secretary of State, March 29, 1655.

† Letter to the same from Col. Lilburne, dated 'Yorke, April 10, 1655.'

turned *by order from the Protector*. Upon which, he examined into the matter; and, finding his information correct, gravely shewed the sheriff the statute, by which it is provided that all juries shall be returned by himself, or his lawful officer: and then, dismissing the jury, left the cause untried. Upon his next interview with the Protector, the latter, in his anger, so far forgot himself, as to tell him 'he was not fit to be a Judge:' to which Hale simply answered—'it was very true.'* An answer, so accordant with Cromwell's own assumed religious meekness, could not but prevent all farther rebuke; and Hale remained unmolested in the high office, whose duties he ever afterward continued as conscientiously to discharge.

Upon many other occasions, Cromwell too well justified the epithet 'tyrant,' which that genuine patriot, Algernon Sydney, when upon his own trial in the subsequent reign of Charles II., bestowed on him. Once he did not hesitate to imprison counsel of the first eminence, (Maynard, Twisden, and Windham,) in the Tower, for but honestly pleading the cause of their client at the bar; and would not release them, but upon their petition, couched in the humblest terms. Many also were imprisoned

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* Burnet's Life of Sir M. Hale.

by him, upon *warrants under his own hand alone;* or *without cause assigned;* or secured in Jersey, and other islands, *without the reach of a Habeas Corpus.* Nay, sometimes, the civil officers received their instructions from him in the following laconic terms: 'Sir, I pray you seize A. B. &c. and *all others* whom *you* shall judge dangerous men: *do it quickly, and you shall have a warrant after it is done.*' These are facts, which can be substantiated by genuine historical documents; or by the Journals of the House, containing the reports of Committees of Parliament after Cromwell's death, and his son Richard's accession. Well were it for his credit, as a *consistent* character, if their authenticity could be disputed: for they as certainly rival the most flagrant acts for which Charles had been dethroned, as they prove the criminal weaknesses, that are liable to beset the strongest and best intentioned minds, when ambition, or the love of power, has hurried their possessors beyond the bounds, which reason and duty prescribe to them.

But the most sweeping instance of the Protector's tyranny even yet remains to be mentioned. He divided the whole kingdom into eleven districts: over each of which he placed a military officer, in quality of *Major-general Civil;* more ostensibly to command and keep in discipline the troops (including the *yeomanry,*

both horse and foot,) in the several counties comprehended in the new jurisdictions; but with instructions extending besides to many other particulars. Such as,' 'to have a strict eye upon the conversation and carriage of all disaffected persons within the several counties'—'to endeavour to suppress all tumults, insurrections, rebellion, or other unlawful assemblies'—'to take an exact account of what proceedings had been upon the ordinance for ejecting of ignorant, insufficient, and scandalous ministers and School-masters.' And, together with authority in these and many other matters, all more or less exceptionably entrusted to mere military superintendance, the Major-generals were to require sureties in such sums as they should think fit, and from any they thought proper to suspect, 'for their peaceable demeanour; for revealing any plots and conspiracies that came to their knowledge; for their personally appearing at such time and place as the Major-general or his deputy should appoint, and as often as they should direct;' and for their not 'changing their places of abode without giving notice, and declaring to the Major-general, or his deputy, the place to which they were about to remove.' It will be readily supposed, that such extraordinary powers were not exercised by men, accustomed to exact unlimited obedience to their com-

mands, without giving too much reason for the whole country to unite their voices against them. And so odious did these military inquisitors become, that, in the Protector's next parliament, the very court dependants would say nothing to exculpate their conduct; and they were in consequence set aside by Cromwell, and their office abolished, 'as unacceptable and burthensome to the people.' In fact, the motion in the House for their suppression was made by John Claypole, Esq., who was Master of the Horse to the Protector, and had married his second daughter. He stated, that "though it had formerly been thought necessary, in respect to the condition in which the nation had been, that the Major-generals should be intrusted with the authority they had exercised, yet, in the present state of affairs, he conceived it inconsistent with the laws of England, and liberties of the people, to continue their power any longer." 'This motion,' says Ludlow, 'was a clear direction to the sycophants of the court; who, being fully persuaded that Claypole had delivered the sense, if not the very words of Cromwell, in this matter, joined as one man in opposing the Major-generals, and so their authority was abrogated.' *(mm)*

The true solution of a mode of government, so opposed to Cromwell's nature and princi-

ples, must be sought for, it is repeated, in the precarious tenure of his throne and life; both threatened, as has been said, by all the parties in the kingdom. The more violent of all of which, though in every thing else opposed to each other, were agreed to wish, if not to plot his destruction; and the more moderate to dislike his disguised monarchical sway, as, indeed, they would have done that of any other person, from the opinion, that the long struggle of the people against kingly power had been worse than fruitless, if, after all the blood they had expended in it, they were still to be without that day-dream of the young spirit of liberty, an equal commonwealth. *(nn)* Even a majority of his own peculiar party—if he might still be said to have a party—the Independents—nay, even the major part of his right hand of power, his only instrument at all to be depended upon —the Army—were commonwealth's men, and, at bottom, indevoted to him. The temper of nearly the entire people, for all the reasons already mentioned, was so greatly against the Protector—against a man, who, with neither the rights nor the name of a King, presumed to rule over them—that, however clear might be the delinquency of a discovered foe, it appears the fact that a jury, indiscriminately chosen, could rarely be expected to give any verdict but in favour of the criminal. And, in reality,

so universally unsettled were the minds of men, that nothing seemed of force to hold the frame of society together, but its own compelled perceptions of an overhanging military supremacy. To add to Cromwell's inquietudes, a sect, that had some time before sprung up, though still contemptible in point of numbers, became every day more dangerous from their fanaticism, and the evidences gathered of their political designs. They were called 'Fifth-monarchy men; from their professing to believe, that the four great worldly powers prophecied of in the Scriptures were passed away; and that, therefore, as Christ's reign on earth should now begin, they ought to declare for no King but '*King Jesus.*' A race of malignly republican or more darkly fanatical serpents were engendered by the state of things; who, though the sword and the axe were fascinated by a master-spell into repose beside them, could not conceal the venom in their natural propensities, nor refrain from directing their hisses toward the Protectoral throne from every corner of the land. That any man, without the supports of a legal authority, should possess the talent, by any means, not only to keep down and compose the elements of such a chaos, but still to extract from it the grand unitive power, commanding Europe, while it preserved and nur-

tured into prosperity at home the arts and occupations properly belonging to profound national tranquillity, (of which it ever maintained an outward semblance), calls indeed for our wonder and admiration, and excites a feeling akin to awe. But, hearing also that such a man appealed to the *compassion* of his contemporaries, on account of the difficulties with which he was encompassed; and that, when charged with his tyrannical excesses, he pathetically asked, 'What would you have one in my station do?' —we are tempted to reply for them, (though the reply in his case were certainly too severe), 'Sir, we would have nobody in your station. To vindicate murder, from the necessity of committing it in order to conceal robbery, is to argue like a murderer and a robber. But it is honest logic to answer, Do not rob, and then you need not to be tempted to murder: but if you will do one, and consequently both, remember that punishment does or ought to follow crimes; and the more crimes the more punishment. If, by a repetition of crimes, you become too mighty to be punished, you must be content to be accursed and abhorred as an enemy to the human race; you must expect to have all men for your enemies, as you are an enemy to all men: and, since you make sport of the lives and liberties of

men, you must not wonder, nor have you a right to complain, if they have all memories and feeling, and some of them courage and swords.'*

* Discourses on Tacitus.

CHAPTER. XII.

FROM THE MEETING OF THE SECOND PARLIAMENT OF THE PROTECTORATE, TO CROMWELL'S DEATH.

Composition of the Second Parliament—The Protector's Refusal to *Approve* a Number of the Members—Their Consequent Exclusion—Remonstrance of the Excluded—Proceedings of Parliament—Appointment of *High Courts of Justice*—Origin and History of such Extraordinary Courts—The Parliament's 'Petition and Advice' to the Protector to Assume the Title of KING—Conferences on the Subject—Delays and Difficulties—Military Petition against Monarchy—Cromwell REFUSES THE CROWN—A *House of Lords* constituted, and the Protector empowered to Appoint a Successor—Reflections on these Articles of the 'Petition and Advice'—Second Inauguration—Admission of the Excluded Members—Death of Admiral Blake—The Commons' Contemptuous Treatment of the Upper House—Dissolution of the Parliament—Fifth-Monarchy Men's Plot—Royalist Plot—High Court of Justice—Execution of Dr. Hewett and Sir Henry Slingsby—Gallantry of the English on the Continent—Capitulation of Dunkirk—Firmness of the Protector with Cardinal Mazarine—Arrival of a French Ambassador—Decay of Cromwell's Health and Mental Powers—Decease of the Lady Elizabeth Claypole, and Remarks upon Lord Clarendon's Relation of that Event—Religious Enthusiasm of Cromwell in his last Illness—He Declares His Son Richard his Successor—His Prayer on the Night preceding his Dissolution—His DEATH—Welwood's Sketch of his Person and Character.

FROM the experience of what was to be expected from parliaments, which Cromwell

had acquired by his first, it was not probable that he would call another, at least until the period when compliance with the Instrument of Government would require it. But the expences of the Spanish war were such, as he deemed it imprudent to attempt to meet by levies made by his own authority alone; and he besides hoped it might not prove altogether impossible, by management, to procure the return of such members alone as he could trust. He had unfortunately found, that a *free* parliament, assembled beneath such a sway, and in such times, as his, would almost necessarily prove *factious:* he therefore made use of every art of influence, although he would not employ money, (of which he was too careful), in order this time to get a parliament that should be useful to him. He was successful in a very eminent degree. Not only was the full complement for Scotland and Ireland, with the exception of three members from the latter country, obtained to his liking; but his kinsmen, dependants, placemen, or officers, to the number of 182, were returned for various counties and places in England. Still, however, there were *ninety-eight* members sent up, as it were in spite of him, by his English subjects, who were zealous republicans, or anti-courtiers, and likely to give much interruption to the business and designs of his government. How to dispose of

these became, therefore, his consideration: and, it must be confessed, he hit upon an expedient altogether without parallel in our history; for he actually resolved to prevent their taking their seats!

With this design, when the members, (on the 17th of September, 1656,) after meeting him at the Abbey, and afterward in the Painted Chamber, repaired to the House, they were stopped at the doors by a party of the military, in the mean time stationed there; and no one permitted to enter, who could not produce a certificate, signed by the Clerk of the Commonwealth in Chancery, that he was 'returned to serve in this present Parliament, and *approved by the Council.*' Properly indignant at this usage, a majority of the excluded representatives next day addressed a letter to the Speaker, Sir Thomas Widdrington, stating the manner of their being 'kept back by soldiers,' and desiring to be admitted. The letter having been read, the House ordered the Clerk of the Commonwealth to attend them on the following morning with all the indentures of returns of Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses; and having, by means of these, *pro forma*, ascertained the absence of the complaining members, the Clerk was asked by what authority they had been excluded. He, of course, naming the Protector's Council, the Council were next applied to for

their 'reasons:' which were to this effect; that a clause in the Instrument of Government having provided, that the persons elected to serve in parliament should be of known integrity, fearing God, and of good conversation, the Council, in pursuance of their duty, and according to the trust reposed in them, had examined the returns, and had not refused to approve any who appeared to them *to be* persons of integrity to the government, fearing God, and of good conversation: and, as to those who were not approved, that his Highness had given order to some persons to take care they did not come into the House. It was added, as from the Protector himself, that 'if the persons complaining would address themselves to *him*, they should be relieved if there was cause.' Having thus plausibly sifted a business, that, without taking that trouble, they would have been at no loss perfectly to comprehend, the approved members resolved, that their unapproved brethren should be referred to make application to the Council in their own behalf, and that 'the House do proceed with the great affairs of the nation.'

But the injured representatives were not so easily satisfied. They published a spirited 'Remonstrance and Protest:' in which, after relating that the Protector had "forcibly shut out of doors such members of the intended

parliament, as he and his Council supposed would not be frighted, or flattered, to betray their country, and give up their religion, lives, and estates, to be at his will, to serve his lawless ambition"—and that they doubted not but, "as the common practice of the man had been, the name of God, and religion, and formal fasts and prayers, would be made use of to colour over the blackness of the fact"—and recounting that, "by the mercy of God only, in preserving *the fundamental law and liberty*, the good people of England had, beyond memory of any record, preserved their estates, families, and lives; and by keeping this only, as their undoubted right, had been kept from being brutish slaves to the lusts of their kings, who had otherwise despoiled them, by proclamations and orders of themselves, and their courtiers, as they pleased"—they go on to observe, that "the Lord Protector had, by force of arms, invaded this fundamental law and liberty; that he had taken upon himself to be above the whole body of the people of England, as if he were their absolute lord, and had bought them for his slaves; and had exalted himself to a throne like unto God's, as if he were of himself, and his power from himself, and the people all made for him, to be commanded and disposed of by him, to work for him, and serve his pleasure and ambition. Therefore, for the

acquitting of their souls, they solemnly protested and remonstrated unto all the good people of England, that the violent exclusion of the people's deputies in parliament did change the state of the people from freedom into mere slavery. That such members of Parliament as should approve the forcible exclusion complained of, or should sit, vote, or act, while many members were by force shut out, were betrayers of the liberties of England, and adherents to the capital enemies of the Commonwealth. While, that the present assembly at Westminster, being under the awe and terror of the Lord Protector, was not the representative body of England, nor could tax or tallage be justly or lawfully raised by them." In such strains would Cromwell himself have indulged, if, in the course of his former parliamentary career, Charles, upon whose throne he now sat, had dared to use such violence toward the representative body, as that of which he had been guilty. But, alas! too many of the very men, who, in this document, so terribly depicted the Protector and his power, soon afterward neglected not the means to ingratiate themselves with him, in order to obtain their seats in the House; where they became of the number of his most servile adorers. The others were wholly set aside; until admitted some few months afterward, through the agitation of a question, which, allowing that they

could have foreseen it, must appear but little likely to bring such a consequence in its train.

The Parliament, as thus constituted, gave at its commencement the highest satisfaction to Cromwell. One of its first acts was 'for the security of His Highness the Lord Protector his person, and the continuance of the nation in peace and safety:' by which it was made high treason to compass or imagine the death of the LORD PROTECTOR, or 'maliciously to proclaim, declare, publish, or promote CHARLES STUART.' And, by the same act, it was provided that all persons, guilty in these points, should be tried before *High Courts of Justice*, consisting of commissioners named; who, or any seventeen of them, were empowered to hear and determine, by examination of witnesses upon oath, and proceed to conviction and final sentence, as in cases of high treason, according to justice and the merits of the case. Whitelock was nominated one of these commissioners, but always refused to sit: and, indeed, every sincere lover of liberty must lament, that courts of this description, in which *the judges, appointed by the accusing party, are the jury also, and to whom, even though persons interested, no challenges can be made*, were ever permitted to blot the pages of our legal records; the fairest else, (but for *political judges*, it may be, the fairest still), that have signalized the administration of justice

among any people. It is singular, however, that courts of this nature originated, in our island, in the assertion of the popular right to punish oppressors, whom, *at the time*, it was justly supposed, the ordinary courts would be unlikely to reach. For the courts of common law were, at that early period, literally the *King's* courts: and the influence of the crown was such, both over judge and jury, (the latter being as yet little sensible of the importance of their decisions, and of themselves as freemen), that such oppressors, if court favourites, were next only to certain, at common law, either to be wholly acquitted, or to meet with the most trifling punishments. But, long before the troubles of the seventeenth century, the case, in these respects, was completely reversed: the judges had become generally upright and impartial, the juries enlightened. While, on the contrary, the *Barons, (oo)* of whom nearly all such extraordinary courts continued to be constituted, instead of being, as formerly, the protectors of the people against the crown, were become, (particularly since it had practised their *creation at will,)* in far too great a degree its dependants, and in general but too ready to shew themselves its most obsequious instruments. No sooner was the change perceived, than the crown, instead of allowing a practice, now truly 'more honoured in the breach than

in the observance,' to fall into just oblivion, became but too happy to avail itself of it, to wreak vengeance upon obnoxious objects, thus easily destroyed, but whom no jury, it was likely, could have been brought to condemn. The popular representatives, in their turn, re-adopted it, to procure the condemnation of men in power, who, though guilty of imprudent or illegal acts against their rights or privileges, were undeserving of the *deaths* to which they were thus doomed. And thus perished Laud and Strafford in the first Charles's reign: thus, soon after, perished Charles himself: and, in fact, the whole catalogue of our legal monstrosities, committed whenever '*the nature of the supposed crime was such as fell not under the cognizance of the common law, or when the persons accused were of a quality which might incline a jury to treat them with compassion and regard*,'* were perpetrated under the sanction and authority of courts essentially similar to these. That, by which the unfortunate Charles was condemned, was made the model of those now enacted by the Parliament, and approved by Cromwell. But, surely, unless the Protector was willing to swell the list of his enemies, by the addition of all the moderate-minded men

* Dr. Harris.

in the nation, he should, in his own language, have been 'twice advised,' before he permitted the trial of any one during his reign, (even though the party's supposed crime should have been such as would not 'fall under the cognizance of the common law,') upon modes hitherto resorted to only by the worst princes, or the most violent men, in the worst periods of English history.

The Parliament proving so accommodating, Cromwell seems to have resolved that so favourable an opportunity as their present temper would afford, should be improved to the accomplishment of that object, of all others the longest and most earnestly desired by him. One grand source of the difficulties and distractions of his sway, it was evident, had been the anomalous and extraordinary *title* under which it had been exercised: a title unknown to the people, and therefore little calculated to ensure their respect; a title, which both gave him more latitude to tyrannise, and the people less right to complain, than if, as KING, he had been sworn to observe those laws, which had all run in the kingly name, and which set bounds to the Kingly, but none to the Protectoral prerogative. Now, then, the question with him was, not '*what if a man should take upon him to be a king?*'—but, *what if the Parliament, in the people's name, should take upon themselves to*

make him a king? That grave assembly, he knew, could be readily set to agitate that, or any other question he desired: and, in fine, so auspicious seemed the moment, so likely did he at length appear to succeed in attaining to a title, calculated not only to bring him honour and quiet, but, as he was doubtless convinced, to secure the nation's good, that he now determined upon delaying the important work no longer.

The business was first (somewhat too broadly) broached in the House by Colonel Jephson, who volunteered an express motion from his place, that the Protector 'should be made KING.' This, however, says Ludlow, 'matters not being thoroughly concerted, had no other effect than to sound the inclinations of the assembly.' But, on the 23rd of February, 1657, a more useful Sir Christopher Pack (Alderman, and Member for the City) stood up to 'propound the question,' whether a certain paper, which, he declared, was 'somewhat come to his hands, tending to the settlement of the nation, and of liberty and property,' might be received and read. *(pp)* Many of the members, whether from real or pretended ignorance of the contents of this paper, moved that Sir Christopher should 'further open' it, previously to the reading. But, it being afterward resolved 'that it be now read,' the paper was

found to contain "The humble address and remonstrance of the knights, citizens, and burgesses, now assembled in the Parliament of this commonwealth," which, in proposing an improved form of government, 'though at present a blank was left for the title of a single person, appeared to be *a shoe fitted to the foot of a Monarch*, who, with two Houses, was to have the supreme legislative authority.'*

The consideration of this document was vehemently opposed by the few commonwealth's men in the House, (consisting chiefly of such officers of the army, as, from their popularity or influence, the Protector had not thought it safe to exclude); who 'fell so furiously on Pack for his great presumption in bringing a business of that nature into the House in such an unparliamentary way, that they bore him down from the Speaker's chair to the bar of the House of Commons.'† But, disregarding this opposition, the friends to the measure proceeded to debate the address; and though a warm contest was maintained with them at its several stages, finally carried it, 'the blank being filled up with the name of KING.' Then, on the 4th of April, was presented to Cromwell, at the Banquetting House, by the Speaker, in great

* Ludlow. † Ibid.

state, "The Humble Petition and Advice of the Parliament of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to his Highness," whose principal article was as described. His Highness *graciously* answered, by requesting that 'a Committee might be appointed to confer with him, and to offer him better knowledge and satisfaction in this great cause.'

A committee was named; of whom Whitelock, (whose former cogent arguments *against* the measure have appeared), was appointed chairman: and he relates that, upon attending his Highness with the Committee, he addressed him upon the point of the title, giving his reasons why he *should* accept of it; but that his Highness (in all humility, no doubt,) urged his reasons on the contrary. Upon Whitelock's report of the Protector's answer, the House resolved, (but by a majority only of thirteen,) that they did adhere to their Humble Petition and Advice: and, moreover, agreed to several reasons, to be presented to his Highness; reminding him, among other things, of the great obligation resting upon him in regard to their advice, to which they repeated their desire of his assent. The business, however, met with repeated delays, on account of a sudden indisposition in Cromwell: partly also, it is very probable, from his desire thoroughly to sound all those, whose agreement to the prayer of the

petition might be desirable, or whose opposition to it might, in the event of his acquiescence, prove dangerous: and, not less than either, through 'a plot,' (discovered by Secretary Thurloe's vigilance) 'of an intended insurrection of Major-general Harrison, and many of the Fifth-Monarchy Men';* who were found to have held several private meetings, in order to concert resistance to Cromwell's farther elevation, but whose schemes, being thus interrupted, were silently relinquished until a future opportunity.

Of the Committee just mentioned, who accompanied Whitelock to confer with Cromwell, were Lord Chief-Justice Glynne, and Lord Broghill, both of whom addressed the Protector at some length: and, it is fair to observe, their arguments were many of them of weight. The former remarked, that 'the office of King was a lawful office; that there never had been a quarrel with the office, but with its mal-administration; that it was known, certain in itself, and confined and regulated by the law:' with much more to a similar effect. Lord Broghill told him, that, in addition to these and other reasons for accepting the title, another, and a very strong one, was, that the Parliament had advised him to it; for, he observed, 'the advices

* Whitelock.

of Parliament are things that always ought,' and, he was confident, in this instance, would 'carry with them very great force and authority.' Whitelock relates, that the Protector often advised about this, and other great businesses, with Lord Broghill, Pierrepoint, Sir Charles Wolseley, Thurloe, and himself: and 'would sometimes be very cheerful with us, and, laying aside his greatness, would be exceeding familiar with us; and, by way of diversion, would make verses with us; and every one must try his fancy. He would commonly call for tobacco, pipes, and a candle, and now and then would take tobacco himself. Then he would fall again to his serious and great business, and advise with us in those affairs; and this he did often with us.'—Thus has Cromwell always been observed to intermix trickery with his most important operations; but particularly when HOPE was probably painting for him some of those bright prospective scenes, in his instance, as in that of all other mortals, but too frequently found to be as illusory as they are captivating.

In a letter from Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, dated April 21, 1657, the Secretary tells him: 'certainly, his Highness hath very great difficulties in his owne minde, although he hath had the clearest call that ever man had; and, for aught I see, the Parliament will not be per-

swaded, that there can be any settlement any other way. The title is not the question; but it's the office, which is known to the laws and this people. They know their duty to a Kinge, and his to them. * * * My Lord Deputy, (Fleetwood), and General Desbrowe, oppose themselves with all earnestness against this title, but think the other things in the petition and advice very honest. The other gentleman (Lambert probably) stands at distance, has given over his opposition, and lets thinges take their own course.' (*qq*) May the 5th he writes that 'Fleetwood and Desbrowe seem to be very much fixed against the Protector's beinge King; and speak of nothing but giving over their commands, and all imployment, if he doth accept that title: others also speak the same language: so that our difficulties are many.'

But Cromwell, accustomed to opposition and difficulty, was not easily to be put from his purpose. He perceived, as perhaps he had not expected, that his relatives, familiar friends, and those to whom he chiefly owed his advancement, were here inclined to be his greatest enemies: but he took every measure which prudence or policy could suggest, to gain them by argument, and, that failing, by jests and raillery. One day, he invited himself to dine with Desborough, and took Fleetwood with him; and, availing himself of the opportunity,

'began to droll with them about monarchy, and said it was but a feather in a man's cap; and therefore wondered that men would not please children, and permit them to enjoy their rattle.'* But these officers very gravely 'assured him, there was more in the matter than he perceived; that those who put him upon it were no enemies to *Charles Stuart;* and, that if he accepted of it, he would infallibly draw ruin on himself and friends.'† Cromwell only told them 'they were a couple of scrupulous fellows,' and departed. Next day, he sent a message to the House, requiring their attendance on the following morning in the Painted-chamber: and this being the place where he always gave his assent to their bills, his acceptance of the title was looked upon as certain. The same day, meeting Desborough in 'the great walk of the Park,' he acquainted him, as he had already done several members of the house, with his resolution. Desborough immediately said, in that case, he considered *the cause*, and Cromwell's family also, as lost; adding, that though he was resolved never to act against him, yet, when he was King, he would not act for him. The two other 'great men,' according to Thurloe, expressed themselves to the same effect:

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* Ludlow. † Ibid.

and Lord Clarendon even says, than an officer of name, in the eclaircissement upon the subject, told him resolutely and vehemently, that if ever he took upon him the Kingly title, he would kill him. 'Certain it is,' his lordship continues, that 'Cromwell was informed, and believed, that there were a number of men, who had bound themselves by oath to kill him within so many hours after he should accept that title.'

This day passed over: and Cromwell still gave no one reason to suppose that any alteration had taken place in his sentiments. In fact, so certain had he been of at last attaining to his great point, that all 'matters (Whitelock says) were prepared in order thereunto:' in corroboration of which, Welwood asserts that 'a *crown* was actually made, and brought to Whitehall.' In the morning, the House assembled: and the time was rapidly approaching at which they were to meet his Highness in the Painted-chamber, when, to the general surprise and confusion, a Lieutenant-colonel Mason appeared at the bar with a petition, subscribed by himself and thirty-two other officers; the substance of which was, 'that, having hazarded their lives against monarchy, and being still ready to do so, and having observed in some men great endeavours to bring the nation under its old

servitude, by pressing their General to take upon him the title and government of a King, *in order to destroy him*, they therefore humbly desired the House to discountenance all such persons and endeavours, and continue stedfast to the old cause, for the preservation of which, they, for their own parts, repeated their readiness to lay down their lives.' Information of this petition being quickly carried to Cromwell, he, as may be supposed, was thunderstruck: immediately, it is probable, seeing in it a signal for the general disaffection and mutiny of the army, a majority of whom, he was conscious, were averse to his intended dignity. Directly sending for Fleetwood, he expressed much surprise at his not hindering the presentation of such a petition; especially as, he said, he must know the crown would never have been accepted by him against the inclinations of the Army; and he therefore desired him to hasten to the House, and prevent any proceedings upon the petition. This office Fleetwood readily undertook: and without difficulty convinced the members of the impropriety of considering the prayer of the officers, until they had received the Protector's answer. A message then arrived from Cromwell, desiring the House, instead of repairing to the Painted Chamber, to meet him in the Banquetting House. They did so: and there, (May 12, 1657,) the Protector, with well af-

fected earnestness, and much ostentation of his self-denial, refused the diadem upon which he had so long reckoned. His speech to the members, on this remarkable occasion, concluded thus: 'I should not be an honest man, if I should not tell you, that I cannot accept of the government, nor undertake the trouble and charge of it—which I have a little more experimented than every body, what troubles and difficulties do befall men under such trusts, and in such undertakings—I say, I am persuaded to return this answer to you, that I cannot undertake this government with the title of King: and that is my answer to this great and weighty business.*

The other articles of the Petition and Advice were, notwithstanding, assented to, with some alterations, in a short speech delivered on the 25th of the same month. The second article

* It was upon Cromwell's final refusal of the crown, that Hume assures us 'he was incapable of expressing himself, but in a manner which a peasant of the most ordinary capacity would justly be ashamed of.' His speech on this occasion is certainly confused; as was his mind, no doubt. The resolution he at last formed was sudden, expressed with hurry, in unexpected circumstances, and against his real convictions. When in the last predicament alone, it has been already observed, his oratory commonly partook of this defect; and no wonder therefore that it should display a more than ordinary portion of it in the case described.

recommended the future calling of parliaments consisting of *two* houses: and this, soon afterward, Cromwell carried into effect, by constituting what has been commonly called his *House of Lords;* the number of whose members was sixty-two, comprehending noblemen, (some few of whom were of the '*ancient* nobility,') knights, and gentlemen of ancient families and good estates, together with some military officers who had risen to this elevation from the humblest employments. The Petition and Advice farther conferred upon the Protector the power of appointing and declaring his successor: which was tantamount to destroying the elective nature of the office, and rendering it hereditary in his family. And, in fact, Cromwell had divested himself of his opinions, and no longer argued from scripture, against 'that hereditary way:' his private interests, very probably, assisting him in the perception of the truth, that, 'in a large society, the *election* of a monarch can never devolve to the wisest, or the most numerous part of the people;' while 'that the superior prerogative of *birth*, when it has obtained the sanction of time and popular opinion,' is not only 'the plainest and least invidious of all distinctions among mankind,' but that 'the acknowledged right extinguishes the hopes of faction, and conscious security disarms the cruelty

of the monarch.'* Cromwell, it is likely, his mind fully possessed with the advantages of the legal English monarchy, now saw no solid objection to it in the argument, that the crown, agreeably to its constitution, might descend upon a head, weak, and unworthy to be encircled with it: but, on the contrary, though it was impossible entirely to disconnect imperfection with any human system of government, that THE LAWS, *in all ordinary circumstances, and so long as they themselves were not aimed at the vitals of the constitution through the medium of its most natural defenders*, would afford a sufficient preservative against any ill effects, to be apprehended from the succession of a prince, who, neither in talent nor general good intentions, should resemble himself. Fleetwood, Desborough, and Lambert, the men to whom he owed his present disappointment, had not dared openly to object to this article of the petition. But their conduct upon Cromwell's death gave good reason to believe, that, as the kingship would have necessarily been hereditary, their opposition was chiefly grounded on the thus *certain* exclusion of themselves from the chief magistracy. As Protector, though the article were allowed, Cromwell might, by possibility,

* Gibbon.

'appoint and declare' one of them his successor; or they might hope to be able to wrest the power, as in fact they did, from any less gifted member of his family. Cromwell, on the other hand, might be well content that the article should remain, and the House of Lords be constituted, though neither had been contemplated but in connection with his acceptance of the crown, in the still not extinguished hope that it would be one day his, and that the fulfilment of the general articles of the Petition would prove added steps to its acquirement. Nay, had not death so soon after robbed him of what Cowley, in melancholy truth, calls 'his deceitful glories,' another parliament, and timely measures to defeat the ambition of his relatives, and the other army grandees, would, it is far from improbable, have ultimately secured the accomplishment of all his aims. Aims, comprising, it has been reasonably supposed, along with the kingly office, and the restoration of the constitution by solemn compact with the representatives of the people, the re-establishment of the Peers in the possession of their just weight and influence in the State:—nay, and even the return of Episcopacy, from the just conviction, that only with the recurrence of apostolic *times*, can be expected to recur that apostolic spirit, by the force of which men of talent will embark in the clerical, more than other professions, without some

views directed to preferment, or maintain the due influence of a national religion over the popular mind, unassisted by those gradations of rank and power among themselves, which are necessary to the mere human conduct of all human affairs.* Truly unfortunate was it for Cromwell, and, in the common worldly sense, yet more so for his family, that, until his death-hour, it continued indispensably necessary to his safety, for his 'whole government to contradict the national constitution.'† Had it been otherwise—had he lived to become the constitutional King of England—along with every other change for the better, his republican-spirited Army must have speedily ceased to be more dangerous than useful; and thus would have lost the power to hurl his successor, or any other of his descendants, from the throne, merely because such descendants should be capable of

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* Bishop Burnet says he had been told by Dr. Wilkins, (who married a sister of Cromwell's, and was after the Restoration raised to the see of Chester), that 'when Cromwell was designing to make himself King, he had often said to him, that no temporal government could have a sure support, without a national church that adhered to it; and he thought England was capable of no constitution but episcopacy. To which, (the Doctor added) he did not doubt but Cromwell would have turned, as soon as the design of his kingship should have been settled.'

† Liberty and Right, 1747.

adorning it only with his most estimable qualities, without that more brilliant ability, that might, or might not, render services of consequence to the prosperity of the state and people.

The new Instrument of Government consisted in all of eighteen articles: including the stipulations, besides those already enumerated, that the Protector should 'preserve and maintain the ancient and undoubted liberties and privileges of Parliament, and *never exclude those chosen by a free election;*' should 'see that the laws and statutes of the realm be observed, and no laws made, altered, repealed, or suspended, without consent of Parliament;' should 'have a Privy Council of twenty-one persons;' 'encourage a godly ministry for the assertion of the true Protestant Christian Religion;' 'admit a General Tolerance in religious affairs, to all those who should agree to a public Confession of Faith, to be framed by himself and the Parliament, according to the rule and warrant of the Scriptures;' and 'take an oath to govern according to the law.' An "Additional and Explanatory Petition and Advice" was afterward drawn up; which, among other things, prescribed the forms of the oaths to be taken by the Protector and his Council, and by the Members of Parliament. It also gave him the power to summon, by his own writ, whatsoever persons he

should think proper, being duly qualified, and not exceeding seventy in number, to sit in the 'other House of Parliament.'

Pursuant to the grand alteration made in the Petition and Advice, in consequence of Cromwell's formal refusal of the royal title, by which, instead of the words 'title, dignity, and office of King,' it now ran 'name and style of Lord Protector,' his *Inauguration* anew into that office followed in place of the expected *Coronation.* The ceremony of this second investiture was performed in Westminster Abbey, and with much more solemnity and splendour than the first. *(rr)* It appears to have been judged a necessary consequence of his being now placed at the head of the government, not at the will of a few military officers, but by desire of the representative assembly of the nation. One other result of the new system, proved in the end a most disagreeable one. This was the entrance of many of the previously excluded members into the House, as a consequence of their acceptation of the article by which no members freely chosen were to be excluded. But though, upon the expectation of becoming King, Cromwell, knowing how greatly his influence would be by that title increased, felt little repugnance to this article, it is unlikely he would have been really willing to accede to it, foreseeing that the condition he in his own mind

had coupled with concession in that particular would not take effect.

Shortly afterward, arrived news of the death of Admiral (or as he was still, from his former military services, termed, *General*) Blake, on ship-board, returning from the Spanish coast; after a series of actions, that had raised the glory of the nation at sea beyond all former example; crippled, in proportion, the power of 'the rich troublers of the world's repose,'* the Spaniards;—teaching the once proud fleets of that people, confined within their ports, the English

> —— 'red cross to triumphant sce,
> Riding without a rival on the sea;'†

—and brought no little wealth into the country, for the immediate services of the Protector. By order of the Parliament, he was interred, with the highest honours, in Henry the Seventh's Chapel, in Westminster Abbey. *(ss)*

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* Waller.

† Ibid. In another of his poems, Waller, addressing the Protector, writes:

> 'The sea's our own! and now all nations greet,
> With bending sails, each vessel of our fleet:
> Your power extends as far as winds can blow,
> Or swelling sails upon the globe may go!'

—Nothing could exceed the change that took place in our poet's sentiments upon the Restoration!

On the 20th of January, 1658, the new House of Lords met, as well as the Commons after their adjournment, at Westminster. The Protector opened this Parliament, (in the Upper House, where he had desired the attendance of the Commons,) by a short speech, much in the manner of his *predecessors* in the sovereignty: and was followed, as also had been usual, by the Lord Keeper, Fiennes, in a set oration, whose principal theme was praise of the recent alterations in the mode of government. Business then formally proceeded. But the Commons, chiefly instigated by those who had lately entered their House in the manner mentioned, notwithstanding their original exclusion, soon gave proof of so little disposition to coalesce with the Upper House, or even properly to respect it, that Cromwell was obliged to summon both into his presence at the Banquetting-house, and there 'exhort them to unity, and to the observance of their own rules in the Petition and Advice.'* Even this reproof, however, produced but little effect. By the removal of so many of Cromwell's immediate friends into the Upper House, not less than by the restitution of those formerly excluded to the Lower, the commonwealth's men in the Commons were now

* Whitelock.

a majority, and continued there the same sort of carriage toward their partners in legislative authority. Upon receiving a message from the latter, they actually proceeded to debate what should be 'the *appellation* of the persons to whom the answer shall be made.' So well instructed was nobility, more particularly as a governing order, that it can neither support itself, nor obtain deference from its inferiors, without royalty. On the fifteenth day after the assembling of the two houses, not to permit the 'Lords' created by his breath to be spurned at, the Protector, for that and some other reasons, found it necessary to dissolve the Parliament.

His resolution to proceed in this energetic manner had been suddenly strengthened by intelligence of a conspiracy, the danger from which seemed so imminent, that 'he took the inspection of the watch at Whitehall, for several nights successively, in his own person.'* He appears to have feared some connection between the republican members and the leaders of the plot; or, at any rate, to have imagined that, by a dissolution of the Parliament, he should deal a severe blow to the conspirators. Every circumstance, therefore, leading him to decisive measures, and his purpose being confirmed by

* Ludlow.

fresh intimations reaching him of the designs of his enemies, he even staid not "for one of his own coaches, but taking the first that was at hand, with such guards as he could presently get together, he hurried to the other (Upper) House. Whither being come, he imparted his intentions to dissolve the assembly to Lieutenant-general Fleetwood; who earnestly endeavouring to dissuade him from it, he clapped his hand upon his breast, and swore 'by the living God he would do it.'"* Sending to the House of Commons by the Usher of the Black Rod, he required the attendance of the members, many of whom 'declined to come.'† But the others, with the Speaker at their head, obeying the requisition, "His Highness made a speech to them; declaring that several urgent and weighty reasons made it necessary for him, in order to the public peace and safety, to proceed to an immediate dissolution of this Parliament: and accordingly His Highness dissolved the Parliament."‡

The same night, (as it seems probable,) the chiefs in the dark plot alluded to were arrested at their rendezvous in Shoreditch, 'as they were consulting about the manner of putting their enterprise into execution.' Their arms,

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* Ludlow. † Ibid. ‡ Whitelock.

ammunition, &c. were also seized; together with a number of copies, in print, of a 'Declaration,' intended for distribution to the public; and a remarkable standard, bearing a Lion Couchant, with the motto, '*Who shall rouse him up?*' This conspiracy was another attempt of the Fifth-Monarchy Men against the life and government of the Protector: being the sequel to that before slightly spoken of, by the same parties, which being disturbed by Cromwell's cognizance, its execution was temporarily suspended. Whitelock says 'Major-general Harrison was very deep' in it: from a tenderness to whom, perhaps, and others of the same party, his former friends, the Protector was content with imprisoning all its discovered authors. But he dispensed sterner justice to the principals in another plot, which almost immediately followed, and was as promptly suppressed.

The avowed design of this latter enterprise was to 'restore the race of the Stuarts:' a design, which Cromwell can scarcely be said to have erred in considering as that most pregnant with danger to the liberties of the country in its accomplishment. Another High Court of Justice was erected for the trial of the heads of this royalist plot: in pursuance of the sentence of which, Dr. Hewet, and Sir Henry Slingsby, suffered on the scaffold. Many efforts were made to save the former, particularly by Mrs.

Claypole, (or the Lady Elizabeth,) the daughter for whom the Protector entertained a stronger attachment than for any other member of his family, and who had contracted a friendship for Hewet. But, by his pertinacity in denying the jurisdiction of the Court before which he was summoned, the Doctor provoked his fate; when, by an opposite course of conduct, such strong interest being made for him, he would, there can be little or no doubt, have been pardoned.

During all these transactions, and till the close of Cromwell's glorious though disturbed reign, the honour of the English name was strenuously upheld in his various negociations and treaties with foreign states, and not less so in the prosecution of his warlike affairs. A body of 6000 troops had been sent, under the command of Sir William Lockhart, his ambassador to the French court, and Major-general Morgan, to the assistance of Lewis XIV. against the Spaniards. Dunkirk was to be attempted by the united forces: and, if taken, in return for the Protector's aid to be delivered up to the English. The French were commanded by Marshal Turenne; with whom also were Lewis in person, and Cardinal Mazarine, his favourite minister. With the Spaniards were associated Don John of Austria, (their General-in-chief) the Prince of Conde, the Prince

de Ligny, and the English Dukes of York and Gloucester: their Army amounted to 30,000 men. At a council of war, at which neither of the Protector's Generals were present, the French, intimidated at the display of their enemy's force, had agreed to retire, without prosecuting the attack upon the town, the capture of which was the sole object of the confederation of their allies. But, at a succeeding council, Lockhart and Morgan so powerfully contended for an opposite line of conduct, and so cogently supported their arguments by the assurance that 'if the siege was raised, the alliance with England would be broken the same hour,' that the French Army were allowed to be drawn out to await the approach of the Spaniards. The English, however, were impatient to engage: and, having with some difficulty surmounted a disadvantage in the ground, they attacked the Spanish van with so much fury, that it fell back in disorder upon the main body; which also was defeated in its turn, after a desperate resistance, by the trivial aid of a body of cavalry, dispatched by the French to the assistance of their confederates. "At the end of the pursuit, Marshal Turenne, with above one hundred officers, came up to the English, alighted from their horses, and, embracing the officers, said, 'They never saw a more glorious action in their lives; and that

they were so transported with the sight of it, that they had not power to move, or do any thing.' " As to the Spanish General, Don John, he " exclaimed that ' he was beaten by wild beasts, rather than men ;' and the great Conde declared, ' he had never seen so gallant an action, as that day's performance by the English was.' "—To what fatality, or to what difference in the personal character of our sovereigns, was it owing, that, under the Stuarts who preceded and followed Cromwell on the throne, the warlike operations of the English against the continent were almost uniformly unsuccessful ?

Dunkirk capitulated shortly after this victory: but the good faith of the French, in its consequent surrender to the allies, was not manifested until the firmness of Cromwell extorted from them the fulfilment of their engagements. The circumstances of this after-difficulty, and the method of overcoming it adopted by the Protector, deserve our attention. Turenne, it appears, took possession of the town with a body of French troops ; Lewis and the Cardinal entering with them, amusing themselves with having obtained so precious a morsel from Spain, at the expence of the blood and treasure of England, and making nothing but futile apologies to Lockhart, who immediately, however, in the most pointed manner, expressed the resentment

his master would feel for the injury done him. But our Ambassador-General was provided also with instructions to *act*, in the very case before him, though, in pursuance of those instructions, he could not at the moment disclose them. For Cromwell, knowing the duplicity of the Cardinal, and therefore placing no faith in him, had some time before made a friend of his secretary; and, through him, was aware of the use the French cabinet had intended, since the council of war, to make of a successful termination of the siege. In compliance with his orders, therefore, Lockhart now drew off the English army to an eminence at some little distance from the French lines; so posting them, as to be secure against a surprise. Then repairing to the Cardinal, he, with his watch in his hand, peremptorily demanded a written order for the delivery of Dunkirk to the English within an hour from the moment at which he was speaking: informing him besides, that if the demand was not complied with, he had instructions from the Protector to declare the treaty between himself and the French monarch void; and to send an express to the Spanish General, acquainting him, that the English forces were then ready, and prepared, to act in conjunction with his against the arms of France. The Cardinal at first thought all this was intended only to alarm him into compliance; and banteringly

asked the English Ambassador, 'if his Excellency had slept well the preceding evening, or if he were yet perfectly awake?' Lockhart calmly gave him assurances of both; and drew out his instructions in the hand-writing of his master. Then, indeed, the astonished Cardinal began to pay his brother diplomatist the utmost attention; and attempted, but in vain, to soften down the terms of the requisition made by him. Lockhart, with the utmost coolness, replied, that he should be compelled religiously to obey his instructions: and the Cardinal, knowing the decision of Cromwell, and the ability with which he took care to be served by all his agents, complied, giving up the place within the allotted time. The French troops evacuated the town; and Lockhart with the English took possession of it in the name of the Protector; our Ambassador receiving the keys from Lewis in person.

Soon after the triumphant conclusion of this important affair, the Duke of Crequi arrived from the French King, to compliment the Protector upon the success of the two allied nations. But the health and spirits of Cromwell, of which, as one writer observes, his natural constitution yielded a vast stock, now beginning to evince symptoms of rapid decay, rendered him little accessible to the flatteries of the most

powerful crowned heads; and, indeed, induced changes in his countenance, language, and entire demeanour, that few, who had known him at any former period of his life, would have easily supposed possible. An old age of cares and troubles, rather than of years, had overtaken him; and his pictures, taken at this time, are strongly marked with the lines written by inquietude in his features. Robust as he had been, the madness of parties, the estrangement of friends, the increasing disaffection of that large army, (whom to support, without parliamentary supplies, had plunged him into considerable pecuniary embarrassments,) exhausted his frame, while they lacerated, and at length greatly weakened his mind: insomuch, that the recollection of the numerous schemes for his assassination, that he had either himself discovered, or had been informed of, haunted him continually: he grew pensive, melancholy, and seemed devoured with self-dissatisfaction and chagrin. Gradually, he became more and more difficult of access, and would seem uneasy in the presence of strangers: never travelled, unless surrounded by his guards; nor ever informed his servants the road they were to take, until he was actually seated in his coach: and seldom slept on two successive nights in the same apartment. But what gave him the

severest affliction, was the death of his favourite daughter, Lady Elizabeth Claypole; which occurred at Hampton Court, August 7th, 1658.*

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* Lord Clarendon asserts that, on her death-bed, the Lady Elizabeth bitterly reproached her father with the guilty acts to which his ambition had led: and, admitting his lordship for a sufficient authority, historians have reiterated the relation, and poets have given dramatic versions, of the supposed scene. But in this, as in the various instances before cited, the present writer cannot but decline giving credence to his lordship. The characters of all Cromwell's daughters may be tolerably appreciated, from their letters which have come down to us, and the incidental sketches afforded of them by other contemporary writers. From all which, these ladies appear to have been models of filial affection and duty, as well as patterns of every feminine grace; to have been all, and equally, "admired, beloved, and esteemed, for their beauty, virtue, and good sense." The Lady Elizabeth was the fairest transcript of the family virtues; the child most attached to her father, as the most beloved by himself. She had all "the elevation of mind, and dignity of deportment, of one born of a royal stem, with all the affability and goodness of the most humble." Of her, therefore, the narration becomes more peculiarly improbable: and not the less so, when it is considered of *what* guilty acts Cromwell's daughters were likely to accuse him.

Of all men, occupying the first rank as political characters, that ever lived, Cromwell was perhaps the most free from great *moral* offences. And as to his political crimes, it is amply apparent, from the contemporary sources alluded to, that his family, more strongly even than himself, were convinced of their 'necessity'; or, more properly speaking

Soon after that distressing event, he was seized with an ague, a disease to which he had before been subject; and though, at first, it was thought little of, the fits grew stronger, and began to be attended with dangerous symptoms. Yet, as to himself, he was for some time insensible to his real state; being, on the contrary, assured that he should recover: a disposition of mind,

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perhaps, considered them but as rigid performances of his public duty. In fact, must not such appear but the natural character of the sentiments of an amiable family, relative to every action of him they have been accustomed to look up to with love and reverence as the parental head?

Perhaps the only portion of Lord Clarendon's statement consistent with the truth, is, that the Lady Elizabeth, when suffering under her last long illness, took some opportunity of repeating her wish to the Protector, that Dr. Hewet had been spared to her earnest entreaties; and her expression of this wish, in a manner respectful, and submissive to her father's better judgment, no doubt, may have been the real foundation of his Lordship's whole story. From the various notices of her death, in the letters of her friends and relatives, and in the works of impartial contemporary authors, in none of which appears any thing like confirmation or corroboration of the other parts of his statement, we shall select Whitelock's simple observations alone. After narrating the fact of her decease, he says: "She was a lady of excellent parts; dear to her parents, and civil to all persons, and courtly and friendly to all gentlemen of her acquaintance: her death did much grieve her father."—It is remarkable that Lord Clarendon himself ends with observing, that "*either* what she said, *or her death*, affected him wonderfully."

that was strengthened by the enthusiasm of his chaplains; who, if Dugdale may be credited, even 'kept a solemn thanksgiving for his *recovery* at Hampton Court, where he then lay.' *(tt)* His own religious enthusiasm had always increased with his exigencies, and became at last the entire master of his judgment. "That which is some ground of hope, (said Thurloe, in a letter to Henry Cromwell), is, that the Lord, as on some former occasions, hath given to himself a perticuler assurance that he shall yet live to serve hym, and to carry on the worke which he hath put into his hands."—'Ye physicians (said he, to his medical attendants, at the same time holding one hand of his wife's) think I shall die. I tell you, I shall not die: I am sure of it. Don't think that I am mad: I speak the words of truth; upon surer grounds than your Galen or Hippocrates furnish you with. God Almighty himself hath given that answer, not to my prayers alone, but also to the prayers of those who entertain a stricter commerce and greater intimacy with him. Go on cheerfully, banishing all sadness from your looks, and deal with me as you would with a serving-man. Ye may have skill in the nature of things; yet nature can do more than all physicians put together: and God is far more above nature.'*

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* Bates.

On the 30th of August, however, (having in the interim been removed from Hampton Court to Whitehall,) he had so far changed his sentiments, as to think it necessary to declare his eldest son Richard his successor in the Protectorate. And, on the evening before his departure, in the same doubtful temper of mind, though still greatly supported by his enthusiasm, he composed and uttered the following prayer:

'Lord, although I am a wretched and miserable creature, I am in covenant with thee through grace, and I may, I will, come unto thee for my people. Thou hast made me a mean instrument to do them some good, and thee service; and many of them have set too high a value upon me, though others wish, and would be glad of my death. But, Lord, however thou dost dispose of me, continue and go on to do good for them. Give them consistency of judgement, one heart, and mutual love; and go on to deliver them, and with the work of reformation, and make the name of Christ glorious in the world. Teach those, who look too much upon thy instruments, to depend more upon thyself. Pardon such as desire to trample upon the dust of a poor worm, for they are thy people too: and pardon the folly of this short prayer, for Jesus Christ his sake, and give us a good night if it be thy pleasure.'

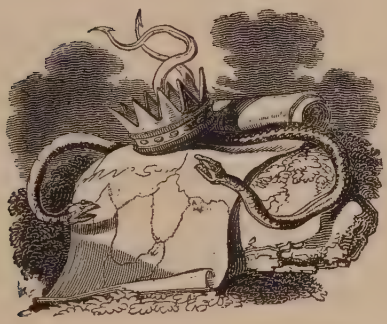
Next day, after the repetition of many similar expressions, so that Ludlow says 'some of his last words were rather becoming a mediator than a sinner,' he died, at four o'clock in the afternoon—on that day so celebrated for his military triumphs—the day he had ever con-

sidered the most fortunate in his life—his 'beloved and victorious' *Third of September*. He was buried, with more than regal pomp, in Westminster-Abbey: *(uu)* his requiem sung by a thousand bards, (too many of whom, with a meanness of spirit exceeded only by that which disgracefully disinterred his remains, *(ww)* afterward loaded his memory with every opprobrious epithet): and his son succeeded to his throne as peacefully, and with as many testimonies of universal consent and approbation, as though he had been the legitimate representative of a long line of hereditary monarchs. Nature alone, as was observed by the superstitious of those times, appeared to be disturbed at his worldly exit: 'the greatest *storm of wind* that ever had been known, (according to Lord Clarendon), which overthrew trees, houses, and made great wrecks at sea,' raging for some hours before and after his decease. 'And, (adds his Lordship), within a few days after, the circumstance of his death, that accompanied that storm, was universally known.'

Welwood appears to have sketched the personal characteristics of the Protector, in con-

nection with several other of his peculiarities, with great fidelity and exactness: some passages from him are therefore subjoined.—" He had a manly, stern look; and was of an active, healthful constitution, able to endure the greatest toil and fatigue. Though brave in his person, yet he was wary in his conduct; for, from the time he was first declared Protector, he always wore a coat of mail under his clothes. His conversation, among his friends, was very diverting and familiar; but in public, reserved and grave. He was sparing in his diet; though he would sometimes drink freely, yet never to excess. He was moderate in all other pleasures; and, for what was visible, free from immoralities, especially after he came to make a figure in the world. He affected, for the most part, a plainness in his clothes; but in them, as well as in his guards and attendance, he appeared with magnificence upon public occasions. No man was ever better served, or took more pains to be so. As he was severe to his enemies, so was he beneficent and kind to his friends: and if he came to hear of a man fit for his purpose, though never so obscure, he sent for him, and employed him; suiting the employment to the person, and not the person to the employment; and upon this maxim in his government, depended in a great measure his

successes. His good fortune accompanied him to the last: he died in peace, and in the arms of his friends, and was buried among the Kings with a royal pomp: and his death was condoled by the greatest Princes and States in Christendom, in solemn embassies to his Son."



A

PARALLEL,

&c.

Circumstances having led the Writer to an acquaintance with many particulars of the life of Napoleon Buonaparte, his mind was naturally turned to a comparison between that remarkable Personage and the Subject of the preceding Portraiture; and, as the result, he farther ventures to submit the following

PARALLEL

OF

COINCIDENCES AND CONTRASTS,

BETWEEN THE

Characters, Actions, and Fortunes,

OF

CROMWELL, PROTECTOR OF ENGLAND, AND BUONAPARTE, EMPEROR OF FRANCE.

COINCIDENCES.

Buonaparte.	*Cromwell.*
BUONAPARTE was descended from an ancient and noble family, somewhat reduced in the persons of his immediate progenitors.	CROMWELL was born under circumstances precisely similar.

Note.—A Genoese lord, of the same family of *Palavacini*, with the relict of one of whom, (who had settled in England,) Sir Oliver, Cromwell's uncle, married in 1601, procured for Buonaparte's great grandfather the situation in Corsica, which induced his removal from Abruzzo, in Naples, to that island.

Buonaparte's characteristics in boyhood have been described by various writers, in language the counterpart of 'aspiring, stubborn, and obstinate.'	Cromwell's character in youth is given in these words by one of his biographers; and the character is confirmed by all contemporary writers.
Buonaparte married early, and was sincerely attached to his wife, (Josephine,) notwithstanding his separation from her upon political motives: — consulting	Cromwell married, rather earlier, a most estimable and valuable woman, whom he tenderly loved; and was 'advised by his wife,' agreeably to his own words,

COINCIDENCES.

Buonaparte.	*Cromwell.*
her on the most momentous occasions, and receiving from her the soundest advice, together with proofs of the most exalted attachment.	in many of his most important affairs.
Buonaparte rose to his early distinction for military talent, chiefly by surprisals of his enemies; by sudden and unexpected evolutions on their flanks, rear, &c.	Cromwell did the same.
Buonaparte's most decided military characteristics were, impetuosity in the charge, and rapidity of advance against, or in pursuit of, an opposing army.	Cromwell's the same.
Buonaparte's genius was scarcely less conspicuous in his victories, than in his *creation* of troops; in the quickness with which he disciplined them, animated them to irresistible courage, and attached them enthusiastically to himself.	Cromwell was especially remarked for the same extraordinary qualities.
Disgusted with the state of things in France, Buonaparte, at one period, seriously intended to transport himself to a distant and comparatively barbarous country (Turkey.)	Under the influence of a similar dissatisfaction, Cromwell had once actually embarked on board a vessel destined to sail to another hemisphere (North America.)
Buonaparte's first step to sovereign authority was his dissolution, at the head of an armed force, of the Council of Five Hundred.	Cromwell's, his dissolution, similarly supported, of the Long Parliament.
Buonaparte, for a considerable period previously to his becoming Emperor, possessed more than regal power, under a title really translateable only into that of *Dictator*.	Cromwell possessed equal sway, and, without the title of king, exercised exactly similar functions.
Buonaparte's was a military usurpation: his conduct of the	Cromwell's situation and conduct the same in each respect.

COINCIDENCES.

Buonaparte.	*Cromwell.*
government, almost necessarily, therefore, was essentially military.	
Established on the throne, Buonaparte did much to correct and improve the institutions and internal economy of the country he governed; he was, besides, distinguished by his wisely tolerant principles in the article of religion.	Cromwell did much for England in the same respects; and his spirit of toleration was the more praiseworthy, as his triumph over his competitors was in a great degree that also of his peculiar religious sect.
Buonaparte was superstitious; having his lucky days, &c.	Cromwell, in a less degree, the same.

CONTRASTS.

Buonaparte was a foreigner among the people, who permitted him to become their despot.	Cromwell a native, and indisputably the first native, in that age, of the country he subjugated.
Buonaparte, by flattering the national vanity of the French, and assisted by their national frivolity, without much difficulty became *their* EMPEROR, who had expended millions of the lives of their own countrymen, and destroyed a more than equal number of the other inhabitants of Europe, in defence of *republicanism.*	But no arts of flattery, no appeals to private interest or public spirit, nor even any the clearest demonstrations of intentions towards the public good, as inseparably connected with monarchy in our island, could induce the sturdy English republicans to confer on Cromwell his wished-for title of KING.
Buonaparte's affections, his love to his first wife alone perhaps excepted, all centred in *himself:* the nicest of his impartial observers was never able to discover a smile of pleasure on his countenance, excited by witnessing the happiness of others; nor even the slightest disposition to derive satisfaction from the prattle or the artless blandishments of childhood; whilst, as to all the sorrows and distresses	Cromwell preserved to the last, in his domestic and private hours, the heart's kindliest charities; and (says one of his contemporaries, whose testimony is supported by many corroborative facts,) 'he was naturally compassionate towards objects in distresse, even to an effeminate measure—he did exceed in tendernesse towards sufferers.'

CONTRASTS.

Buonaparte.	*Cromwell.*
of others—as to all that mass of misery his ambition heaped upon the face of Europe—he was literally 'a man without a tear.'	
Buonaparte *tolerated* all religions; but mainly from contempt for all, and because it was evidently his best and safest policy.	Cromwell's toleration was at once the result of his sagacity, of his value for his own religious principles, and of his sincere disinclination to wound the consciences of others.
Buonaparte, for the above reasons, *professed* all religions; but his real God was DESTINY, and his permanent faith that of any country which should adopt him for its ruler.	Cromwell, after every abatement made for his ambition, and too frequent public hypocrisy, was sincerely religious, as to his private and domestic feelings, sentiments, and conduct.
Buonaparte, with all his talents, wanted two essentials to the character of a truly great man—*foresight*, and *moderation*.	Cromwell eminently possessed them both.
Buonaparte, from his boyhood passionately addicted to the profession of arms, was long considered a soldier without compeer in our times—but has lived to see his conquerors.	Cromwell, till the age of forty-three, had no thoughts of embarking in the military profession: yet he never, in the field, more than in the cabinet, met his equal.
Buonaparte's victories were almost uniformly achieved with forces very superior, either numerically, or in national enthusiasm, in martial zeal, or in discipline—and very frequently in all these points—to those of his enemies.	Cromwell's triumphs were over armies of his own countrymen; over men equal, and, at the commencement of his career, superior in most of these respects, to those whom he himself commanded.
Buonaparte allowed the most licentious conduct in his army, towards the inhabitants of the countries through which he passed, as a component part of his military system.	How opposite was the system of Cromwell in this respect, will have been seen from the foregoing pages.
Buonaparte, prodigal of blood, never regarded the lives of his soldiers. To him they were (in	Cromwell was, sometimes, too prodigal of blood—but it was that of his enemies. His care

CONTRASTS.

Buonaparte.	*Cromwell.*
his own language) '*materiel,*' '*food for powder;*' and if, in the case of his raw recruits, any considered them unequal to withstand the fire of the enemy, his consolation was, that '*they would serve to exhaust it.*'	never unnecessarily to expose his own men, is evinced in the very small proportion of loss his victories usually cost him; on some occasions not amounting to the hundredth part of that suffered by the army he had opposed.
Buonaparte's whole tactics, (particularly in his later campaigns) were comprehended in a word,—'Forward!'—his only calculations, whether his troops could be made, *for a given time,* to advance *faster* than the enemy's fire could destroy them; which, it was nearly self-evident, if they would do, and if the time required (i. e. for exhausting his opponents) had not been *mis*-calculated, the correspondent loss in lives, of an enemy inferior in numbers—or their loss of energy in the same ratio, if inferior in that quality—must eventually secure him the victory.*	Cromwell was a consummate tactician in his movements, whether forward or (as must sometimes be both politic and necessary) retrograde: and *he never obtained a single advantage by a concerted sacrifice.*
Buonaparte, after at length wholly giving himself up to a plan of warfare thus standing unconnected and alone, lost all conception of the way to provide	Cromwell's forecast was ever conspicuous; yet his provisions for, and conduct of 'retreats, consequent upon disastrous engagements,' are unknown; he

* Buonaparte well illustrated this system in his last great struggle at Waterloo; where it was defeated by the simple *constancy* of British soldiers: for, this noblest of military virtues enabling them to stand their ground *longer* than he had conceived it possible for them to sustain the repetition of his attacks, the '*en-avant*' spirits of his men were exhausted, and with them his system itself. The British line had then only to advance, in order to *obtain* a victory, which the arrival of the Prussians, it is true, alone enabled them to *consummate.* It has been denied that Buonaparte's forces were superior to the Anglo-Belgian on this occasion; but had he not himself *thought* them so, either in numbers or composition, (and that they were so in the former respect admits of proof, while that their composition was superior to the *Belgian* part of the British army is undoubted) would he have risked all by recurring to the practice of a system, the very essence of which is some description of superiority?

CONTRASTS.

Buonaparte.	*Cromwell.*
for, or the method to conduct, a *retreat,* consequent upon a disastrous engagement.	never had occasion to give an example of them.
Buonaparte suffered defeat after defeat, when the revolutionary fervours that had at first animated, and so often renewed his armies, were extinct in them; —when his numbers were only equal, and sometimes when they were still superior, to those of his enemies;—or when his enemies, upon an equality in every other respect, were superior in bodily strength or mental constancy.	CROMWELL NEVER WAS BEATEN.
Buonaparte's warlike talents were confined to the conduct of an army: neither in his own person, nor by judgment in selecting his naval commanders, could he prevent the nearly complete extinguishment of the noble marine, that, until his reign, was one grand source of power and prosperity to France.	Cromwell's genius was bounded by no particular sphere: he conquered all who met him in the field, and, by his wisely-chosen admirals, overcame the Nelson * of his naval foes; restored to England the sovereignty of the seas, that had been usurped by him; and conferred upon the navy of his country a strength and lustre, that, until his days, it never had possessed.
Buonaparte, to his one great object latterly in view, the ruin of the warlike greatness and the trade of England, (both of which, notwithstanding, *during the continuance of his power,* never ceased to augment), entirely sacrificed the internal repose, and the 'ships, colonies, and commerce,' of France.	Cromwell *did* effectually humble the warlike greatness, and *did* well nigh ruin the trade, of his most powerful commercial rivals, the Dutch; and yet, in the language of one on some occasions the most virulent of his slanderers, he made 'trade to prosper, and, in a word, gentle peace to flourish all over England.' Cromwell also procured for us the most valuable perhaps of all our colonial acquisitions, Jamaica.

* Van Tromp; who was successively defeated, and at last slain, by the English under the *virtual* sway of Cromwell—being soon after his Dissolution of the Long Parliament.

CONTRASTS.

Buonaparte.	*Cromwell.*
To excuse Buonaparte's territorial ambition, which congregated the vengeance of Europe upon his head, it has been urged, that, having mounted the throne as a military conqueror, and his being essentially a military government, *he was obliged* to employ the army, who were so conscious of his obligations to them, abroad, to prevent the worse consequences of allowing their turbulent and unruly spirits to ferment through inactivity at home.	Cromwell rose by his army, and his government was, in some respects, more military than even Buonaparte's: yet *he obliged* a body of soldiers, more turbulent, more conscious of their importance to their general and their country, and more disposed to take part in civil affairs, than ever were Buonaparte's, to mingle innoxiously, and in all the calm of peaceful habits, with the general mass of his subjects.
By every other European power, Buonaparte was *feared*, and *detested.*	By every other European power, Cromwell was *feared*, and *respected.*
Buonaparte's court and cabinet were equally without principle, morals, and religion. In the former, all was atheistical, or lascivious; in the councils of the latter, there appeared no perceptions of common justice, no sense of the being, or the providence, of a God. Under the influence of such examples, a state of society, which no luxurious revelling in elegance and (plundered) art, could reclaim from the just epithet (morally surveyed) of *barbarous*, prevailed through, and degraded France.	Cromwell, on the contrary, was in this respect truly an 'Unparalleled monarch,' that with him it was 'impossible to become a courtier without religion,' between the reality, and the mere profession of which, he was one of the nicest of judges; and that 'whosoever looked to get preferment at his court, religion must be brought with him, instead of money, for a place.' Honesty and justice were the common bases of his foreign and domestic policy; and, while the gravity of his palace was 'seasoned on occasion with pomp, state, and pleasantry,' its universal air was that of 'sobriety and decency:' and, throughout England, 'whether by really subtracting the fuel of luxury, or through fear of the ancient laws now revived and put in execution,' (the force of *example* in high places is not mentioned), 'men's manners, also, seemed to be reformed to the better.'
To sum up the character of Buonaparte. He had far more	Cromwell, beyond dispute, was the first genius of his age: and

CONTRASTS.

Buonaparte.

genius than judgment: so little of the latter was there in his composition, that, in the great majority of his operations, (latterly, at least), he seemed unequal to any combination of purposes. Plans, ad infinitum, it is true, were afloat in his mind; but he rarely appeared to possess the power, at any single time, to do otherwise than devote his whole soul and strength, even at the risk of destruction by a failure, to the prosecution of but one. Now, to form a purpose, is a mere effort of volition, or of appetite, or a simple exertion of that imaginative faculty into which all the powers of mere genius may be, perhaps, resolvable: but, at one and the same time, to combine and pursue a variety of purposes, and those purposes all great or prudent, and all pursued only to that point from whence retreat, in case of failure, is practicable—these are the proofs of consummate judgment. Doubtless, however, Buonaparte's most astonishing successes were the fruits of this very *weakness* (for such it eventually proved to be) in his character; for, led, or rather misled, by the brilliancy of an idea, he could, upon his system, afford to further it with the whole force of his undivided intellect, which certainly was not small, and with all his physical resources. But, on the other hand, pursuing such a system, a man *must* prosper, as to *every* object he successively endeavours to attain; or else, having neglected to secure any alternative to *the* object he has taken in hand, its failure *must* immediately precipitate him toward ruin, with nothing provided o impede or break his fall

Cromwell.

he was at the same time possessed of the soundest judgment. His purposes not only existed in wonderful variety, but each also was wonderfully multiform. He could pursue all at the same moment—each either in whole or in part—adapt, modify, or alter either—when any were momentarily defeated, was prepared with, or could possess himself of the requisites to their ultimate success—and he incurred loss or disgrace by the inordinate pursuit of none. His reign consisted in an immense concatenation of purposes: it gave evidence of the most exalted genius, in his plans, and of the profoundest judgment, in the mode, and in the fact, of their all but universal accomplishment: it was brilliant, solid, honourable, and useful: and promoted (so far as the unallayed passions of the nation would permit) all that could really dignify himself, his country, and human-kind.

To give the sum of the *fortunes* of these extraordinary men. —France and England, in their greatest of revolutions, were each as a suddenly-opened and widely-destructive volcano: the heated elements of which, in the first, were a comparatively small portion of the spirit of liberty, compounded with much disposition to licentiousness, anarchy, impiety, and false philosophy; and, in the latter, the ennobling fires, long smothered, of civil and religious freedom. These highly but oppositely gifted men each ascended, by the path of military renown, to the summit of the eruptive mass, in the neighbourhood of which he, by birth or fortuity, was thrown; and each escaped the devastating streams, that, rushing from the crater of a nation's wrath, on every side surrounded him on his way. The eruptions ceasing, Buonaparte is seen, daringly, and for a time firmly, standing on the most elevated peak of the Gallic mount, and that most glowing with the unnatural flare remaining even upon the subsidence of its fires. There, he beckons to him the eagles of old Rome; and, from the same heathen world, calls Fate to wait upon his nod:—he is obeyed:—but, at length, those eagles cower in the dust; Fate refuses longer to attend him; the unreal brightness of the pinnacle he trode for ever fades; and he is tumbled from its height to an abyss, whose gloomy depth equals the greatness of his rise. But Cromwell, on the apex of his native island-hill, quenches the source of its destructive flames, restores its verdure, and there spreads a throne, on which he sits serene, and in the light of his own greatness: from thence (too vainly) dispatches messengers of love, peace, mercy, equity, to heal the heats, yet throbbing at the core of the so recently distracted land:—there, while, by wielding with one hand Britain's peculiar thunders, he awes the nations, he, with the other, extends to them the Christian dove; and, at length, after years of prosperous and enlightened sway, makes his death-couch that throne he had erected.

In conclusion, it need be scarcely said—that Cromwell was, almost beyond comparison, a greater, and more estimable character than Buonaparte.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX

OF

Illustrations, and Authentic Documents.

BRIEF DETAILS

OF

OLIVER CROMWELL'S DESCENDANTS.

Richard Cromwell, the third, but eldest surviving son of the Protector Oliver, was born at Huntingdon, October 4, 1626; educated at Felsted, in Essex; and admitted of the society of Lincoln's-inn, May 27, 1647, (Mr. afterwards Secretary) Thurloe becoming one of his securities. From his earliest years, he seems to have been of a mild and gentle disposition: and, as he grew up, his chief failing was observed to be a too great attachment to inaction and pleasure; a failing for which he was frequently reproved by his father, as is seen in several of his letters. Soon after the death of Charles I., the rising greatness of the Lord-general Cromwell procured for his son Richard a very desirable match with Dorothy, eldest daughter of Richard Major, of Hursley, Hants, Esq., a lady with whom he obtained a very considerable fortune. On his marriage, he became a resident at Hursley; and was distinguished only as the complete country gentleman, de-

voted entirely to his wife, and to his horses, hounds, hawks, &c.; at the same time retaining so much of his turn for imprudent expences, as to become involved in debts, respecting which a letter of his father's occurs in this Appendix (AA 3.) In this comparatively happy retirement, he lived for some time; but, upon his father's advancement to the Protectorate, he was made First Lord of Trade and Navigation, November 11, 1655; and in August, 1656, he was returned one of the members for Hants.

In August, 1657, he had a narrow escape from being crushed to death, by the giving way of the stairs of the Banquetting-house, when the members of parliament were going to pay their respects to Oliver: he had some of his bones broken by the accident, but youth, and a good constitution, soon enabled him to get the better of it.

The Protector having resigned the Chancellorship of Oxford, July 3, 1657, the University of that place elected Richard his successor on the 18th of the same month: he was installed *at Whitehall* on the 29th following; and, to do him yet more honour, he was at the same time created a Master of Arts, in a convocation of doctors and masters of the University, assembled at the palace for that purpose. Soon after, he was sworn a privy counsellor, made a colonel in the army, set at the head of the new-made House of Lords, and entitled 'The Right Honourable the Lord Richard, eldest son of his Serene Highness the Lord Protector.'

In these steps, Oliver probably went as far as he durst toward declaring Richard his successor in the Protectorate; all the leading men among the republicans, with whom he was surrounded, being extremely averse to seeing the office made hereditary, and several of them no doubt secretly expecting, on the death of the then Protector, to succeed to it themselves.

Upon his father's demise, notwithstanding, as if the respect excited by that great man, while living, necessarily invested

his representative with all his honours upon his dissolution, Richard, it has been remarked, succeeded to them as tranquilly, and with as little opposition, as though he had been the descendant of a long line of sovereigns. But according to Bishop Burnet, 'he had neither genius, nor friends, nor treasure, nor army, to support him' on the elevation to which he was raised. His capacity, however, does not seem to have been so limited as might be inferred from the Bishop's remark: constitutional indolence, and dispositions all centred in domestic or private life, were probably the chief sources of his unfitness to maintain an *usurped* sovereignty: but true it is, that both friends and family connections forsook him, in pursuance of their ambitious views to self-aggrandisement; that the coffers of his late father had been emptied by the extraordinary expences of his government; and that the army was but little devoted to a man, who had shewn no talents for military command, and who had not even been brought up to the military profession.—His reign lasted but seven months and twenty-eight days.

Fleetwood, who had married his sister, and Desborough, who married his aunt, together with Lambert—all grandees in the army—were the chief agents of his fall. By permitting these men, under his express sanction, to hold a *military council*, the deliberations at which could hardly be expected to bode him good, he manifested either little consideration, or great weakness: but his conduct, in appearing in person at this council, when the danger had been represented to him, and milldy yet peremptorily dissolving it, was at least an equal instance of cool courage and resolution. But, since Ludlow describes the power and influence of the times to have been divided amongst three parties. viz. the commonwealth, or republican; the army party, of which Fleetwood was at the head; and Richard Cromwell's own;—and that all were of nearly correspondent strength;—it is plain that nothing short of individual strength in the new Protector, sufficient to outweigh at least

one of the other two, could support him in the career of his government. Of such strength, he certainly was not possessed: yet justice requires the observation, that had not his incapacity for violence and crime been in a great degree the cause of his incapacity for sustaining an illegal authority, it must be extremely problematical whether his general abilities would not have proved competent to the task of retaining, though they never would have been to that of personally procuring, the dignity to which by his father's genius he had been elevated. But he was virtuously, and perhaps greatly, unwilling that a single drop of blood should be spilt to preserve him on a throne, upon which he had never been very ambitious to be seated.

Few occurrences, during his short administration, are to be found in any author, that relate to himself. The principal one perhaps is, that once taking his favourite diversion of hawking, he, through eagerness in the sport, outrode his retinue: when his horse, becoming restive, threw him into a ditch; from whence being extricated by a countryman before his guards could come up, this, it is said, was the only time the good humoured sovereign was ever displeased with his attendants.

The restored Long Parliament, or rather that portion of it nicknamed the *Rump*, had agreed to pay Richard's debts, and to provide handsomely for himself, and the other branches of his family; but, Charles II. being reinstated in the government before these provisions could take effect, he departed for the continent, from Hursley, (where he had resided since his abdication,) partly from some apprehensions of the King, but still more from fear of his creditors. And yet, the major part of his debts, such as that incurred by his father's magnificent funeral, &c. were the state's rather than his own.

He resided abroad until about 1680; but where his various peregrinations led him until that period, is not known with any degree of certainty, and it were but little worth while to array

opposite accounts on a subject not very material. On his return to his own country, he appears to have assumed the name of Clark, and to have resided at Serjeant (afterwards Chief Baron) Pengelly's house at Cheshunt: to the end of his life courting privacy and retirement, and cautiously avoiding so much as the mention of his former elevation, even to his most intimate acquaintance. Dr. Watts, who was frequently with him, would observe, that he never knew him glance at his former station but once, and then in a very distant manner.

Sincere piety, and the practice of every humble and domestic virtue, did not, as they deserved, procure him uninterrupted peace during the remainder of his days; for, though he outlived all public enmity, he was subjected to much inquietude, and even to the necessity of a suit at law, by the behaviour of his daughters relative to the family property. But the particulars of this unbecoming conduct in these ladies have been too obscurely related, for their authenticity (as to such particulars at least) to be greatly depended upon. He enjoyed a good state of health to the last, and was so hale and hearty, that at fourscore he would gallop his horse for several miles together. In his last illness, and just before his departure, he said to his daughters, 'Live in love; I am going to the God of love.' He died July 13, 1712, in the eighty-eighth year of his age, at Cheshunt; but was buried, with some pomp, in the chancel of Hursley Church, Hampshire, near his deceased lady. He had two sons; one of whom died an infant, the other unmarried: and the eldest branch of the protectorate family failed in Elizabeth, the eldest of his surviving daughters.

The subjoined additions to this section may interest:—

Richard Cromwell to the restored Long Parliament: his submission upon abdicating the Protectorate.

"I trust my carriage and behaviour have manifested my acquiescence in the will and good pleasure of God, and that I

love and value the peace of the commonwealth much above my private concernment; desiring by this, that a measure of my future deportment might be taken; which, by the blessing of God, shall be such as I shall bear the same witness; I having, I hope, in some degree learned rather to reverence and submit to the hand of God, than to be unquiet under it: that, as to the late providence that has fallen out, however, in respect to the particular engagement that lay upon me, I could not be active in making a change in the government of the nations, yet, through the goodness of God, I can freely acquiesce in it being made: and do hold myself obliged, as with other men I might expect protection from the present government, so to demean myself with all peaceableness under it, and to procure, to the uttermost of my power, that all in whom I have an interest should do the same."

Richard Cromwell to the University of Oxford: resigning the Chancellorship.

"Gentlemen,

"I shall always retain a hearty sense of my obligations to you, in your free election of me to the office of your chancellor; and it is no small trouble to my thoughts, when I consider how little serviceable I have been to you in that relation. But, since the all-wise providence of God, which I desire always to adore, and bow down unto, has been pleased to change my condition, that I am not in a capacity to answer the ends of the office, I do, therefore, most freely resign, and give up all my right and interest therein, but shall always retain my affection and esteem for you, with my prayers for your continual prosperity; that, amidst the many examples of the instability and revolutions of human affairs you may still abide flourishing and fruitful.

Gentlemen,

Your affectionate friend and servant,

Hursley, May 8, 1660. RICH. CROMWELL."

2. HENRY CROMWELL.

The fourth (but second and youngest surviving) son of the Protector Oliver, was born at Huntingdon, January 20, 1627; and his education, like that of his brother Richard, was completed at Felsted school, Essex.

His father took him into the army at the age of twenty; procuring him the situation of Captain of General Sir Thomas Fairfax's life-guard. Two years afterward, having been promoted to a colonelcy, he accompanied Cromwell to Ireland, and there greatly distinguished himself. He was one of the members for Ireland in the Little, or *Barebone's* Parliament, assembled in 1653: and in the same year he was again sent to that island, to take cognizance of its state, to discover the temper of the people, and to reconcile the minds of the disaffected to his father's government; an arduous task, but one which he performed to admiration. He found that the then ruling powers (as, until a wiser policy prevailed, was invariably the case in that country) had taken the most ample care of themselves, and very little, republicans as they were, of the people; and that, however they were themselves in love with their places, and with their arbitrarily exercised authority, it would be greatly for the general good to remove them. Soon after his return from Ireland, he married a lady of the name of Russel, daughter of Sir Francis Russel, Bart.: after which, he chiefly resided at Whitehall, until appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland in 1657. On this occasion, great caution and secrecy were observed by him, for a time, toward the republicans; but when he at length found, that boldly to proclaim the authority with which he was invested, would best curb their insolent and overbearing spirit, he produced his father's commission, to the seeming satisfaction, but real confusion, it is probable, of Fleetwood, whom he displaced.

But here, no common difficulties beset him: for the officers of the army had been so long used to oppress the natives, and to advance their own fortunes—they had been so little intent upon any thing but obtaining the confiscated estates of the rebels, and those who had been compelled in their own defence to become such—that they were far from approving the government of one, who, they had good reason to think, would put a speedy stop to their excesses: they besides knew that he did not regard their political sentiments in the best light; but, in moderation and condescension, wished to unite the whole kingdom, by conciliating the affections of all parties. They therefore had the hardihood to petition the Protector, to restore their old chief governor, Fleetwood; whose less enlarged notions, and limited understanding, had been more easily made subservient to their purposes. But Henry, by the wisdom and equity of his administration, was already regarded by the Irish as a blessing: a counter petition to the Protector was therefore prepared, beseeching him that he might be continued in his office: and indeed the nation was ruled with such skill by him, as speedily to become, of all the British dominions, that most satisfied with the Cromwellian reign.

Still, his situation, amidst the clamours of opposed religious sects and political factions, was most distressing: and, to add to his misfortunes, his father, notwithstanding Henry's very superior abilities and undoubted integrity, never treated him with the confidence and affection he lavished upon Richard, his elder son; of which several proofs occur in the letters given in Thurloe's State Papers. Upon Richard's accession to the Protectorate, Henry procured him to be proclaimed in Ireland; and that, as he observed, with at least as much joy as in any place in England. This event was made the occasion of renewing his commission, with the title of Lord-Lieutenant; but with powers so cramped, owing to the influence of those who surrounded his brother's person, that he

became more than ever disposed to relinquish an employment, to which was attached all the responsibility of office with so little of its authority: and, in a letter to Secretary Thurloe, written at this period, he earnestly requests that he may be permitted to return to England, though 'for ever so short a time.' This, however, the republicans, who were playing their own game, and feared that if he were present he would prematurely penetrate it, used their utmost arts to prevent. Nay, they went farther; they endeavoured to asperse his character; an affront he highly resented, and thus, in a letter to the new Protector, expressed his sense of it: 'I find (said he) that my enemies have sentenced me to an honourable banishment: I am not conscious of any crime which might deserve it; but if they can denounce judgment on my innocence, they will easily be able to make me criminal: they have already begot a doubt among my friends whether all be right; *but I will rather submit to any sufferings, with a good name, than be the greatest man upon earth without it.*' No words could better paint his situation, and the rectitude of his mind: finding, however, that he was not to be allowed to leave Ireland, he waited the result of the various intrigues that were carrying on, not ceasing to give his brother the best advice; more particularly cautioning him against them ovements of the army, who he rightly suspected, were meditating mischief.

Richard being displaced, Henry's return was commanded by the Parliament, who had voted that the government of Ireland should be by commissioners nominated by them, and not by a single person. Greatly to his honour, when so many of the officers, and inferior civil magistrates, had created large fortunes in the island, he had not wherewithal to enable him to quit his station, till the Parliament, to give him no excuse to remain in a kingdom, where by his virtuous administration he had procured so many friends, and the

blessings of the whole body of the people, closed with the proposal of now all-powerful Fleetwood, who had sufficient generosity, or who might be influenced by some less noble motive, to represent to the House the pecuniary difficulties of his brother-in-law, and to request that the sum of twenty thousand pounds should be paid to him. 'All historians,' observes Rapin, 'are unanimous in his praises; and generally believe, that if *he* had been Protector, instead of his elder brother, the officers would have met with their match, or not attempted what they undertook against Richard.'

Upon his arrival in England, having previously given in a sensible and manly resignation of his government to the Parliament, he retired into the country, and sat a patient spectator of the many revolutions that presented themselves; happy in escaping from a situation, which, though glittering, had never afforded him the slightest real satisfaction. After the disorders he now witnessed, the restoration of legitimate monarchy proved far from unacceptable to him; and not being excepted, any more than his brother Richard, from the operation of the act of pardon and oblivion, he wrote a letter to Lord Chancellor Hyde, expressing himself a sincere and grateful friend to his Majesty's person and government. After residing at Chippenham, with his father and brother-in-law, Sir Francis and Sir John Russel, for five or six years, he removed to his estate at Spinney-abbey, near Soham, in Cambridgeshire; and here 'he spent the remainder of his days, descending from the toilsome grandeur of governing men, to the more humble and happy occupation of husbandry.' He died, March 23, 1674, at the age of forty-seven, and was buried at Wicken Church, close to the remains of his mother: an inscription on black marble, simply recording his name, place of residence, and the above dates, was placed over him. Among the numerous testimonies to his merit, that of his father, Oliver, (who here cannot be suspected of partiality),

that 'he was a governor, from whom he himself might learn,' deserves particular observation. Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, afterward Earl of Shaftesbury, in a letter to him, says: 'you may have many who love his Highness' sonne, but I love Henry Cromwell, were he naked, without all those glorious additions and titles, which, however, I pray may continew and be encreased on you.' And another has said, that 'he was truly a great man, and might pass for a great man in those great days.' It is worthy remark, that though his piety was always manifested both in his language and actions, yet that it was without any of the puritanic affectation of his times, and that he died in communion with the Church of England.—Some account of his descendants will be inserted after the following section.

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3. MRS. BENDYSH.

This lady, the only female of the Protectorate house of whom the limits of our work will allow particular mention, was the grand-daughter of Oliver Cromwell, and daughter of his son-in-law Ireton, by his marriage with Bridget, eldest daughter of the Protector.* From various descriptions that

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* We may, however, take advantage of the opportunity to narrate the following particulars, relative to Lady Bridget, and the Protector's three other daughters. Lady Bridget married successively Generals Ireton and Fleetwood: Elizabeth, the next eldest daughter, whose death has been related to have occurred just prior to her father's, was united to John Claypole, Esq., successively Master of the Horse to the Protectors Oliver and Richard: Mary, the third, was wife to Viscount, afterward Earl Fauconberg: and Frances, the youngest, married the Hon. Robert Rich, the grandson and heir of the Earl of Warwick; and, upon his decease,

have been preserved of her, she appears to have been another Cromwell in petticoats. That given in 1719, and which attracted great attention at the time, by Mr. Say, a dissenting minister, on occasion of Lord Clarendon's concluding words to his description of Oliver—that 'he will be looked upon, by posterity, as a brave wicked man'—is curious, and as follows:

'The character of Oliver seems to be made up of so many inconsistencies, that I do not think any person who was not personally and thoroughly acquainted with him, or at least with his grand-daughter, Mrs. Bridget Bendysh, capable of drawing it justly. She was the daughter of his son-in-law, Ireton: and a lady, who, as she exactly resembles the best picture of Oliver I have ever seen, (in the possession of Sir Robert Rich), so she seems also exactly to resemble him in the cast of her mind. A person of great presence and majesty, heroic courage, and indefatigable industry, and with something in her countenance and manner that at once attracts and commands respect the moment she appears in company; accustomed to turn her hands to the meanest offices, and even drudgeries, of life;* among her workmen from the earliest morning to the decline of day, insensible to all the calls and necessities of nature, and in a habit and appearance beneath the meanest of them, and neither suiting her character nor sex; and then, immediately after having eaten and drank almost to excess, of whatever is before her, without choice or distinction, to throw herself down upon the next couch or bed that offers, in the profoundest sleep; to rise from it with new life and vigour; to dress herself in all the riches

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Sir John Russell, Bart.—After Cromwell became Protector, "his daughters resided chiefly in apartments of one of the palaces; and such attention was paid to them by foreign princes and states, that their ambassadors constantly paid their compliments to these ladies, both when they came into or left the Kingdom."

* In some Salt-works.

and grandeur of appearance, that her present circumstances, or the remains of better times, will allow her; and, about the close of evening, to ride in her chaise, or on her pad, to a neighbouring port,* and there shine in conversation, and receive place and precedence in all company, as a lady who once expected at this time to have been one of the first persons in Europe; to make innumerable visits of ceremony, business, or charity, and dispatch the greatest affairs with the utmost ease and address; appearing every where as the common friend, advocate, and patroness of all the poor, and the miserable in any kind, in whose cause she will receive no denial from the great and rich, rather demanding than requesting them to perform their duty; and who is generally received and regarded by those who know her best, as a person of great sincerity, piety, generosity, and even profusion of charity. And yet, possessed of all these virtues, and possessed of them in a degree above the ordinary rate, a person of no truth, justice, or common honesty, (I am tempted to say); who never broke a promise in her life, and yet on whose word no man can prudently depend, nor safely report the least circumstance after her.

'Of great and most fervent devotion towards God, and love to her fellow-creatures and fellow-christians, and yet there is scarcely an instance of impiety, or cruelty, of which she is not capable. Fawning, suspicious, and jealous, without end, of all her servants, and even of her friends, at the same time that she is ready to do them all the service that lies in her power; affecting all mankind equally, and not according to the services they are able to do her, but according to the services their necessities and miseries demand from her; to the relieving of which, neither the wickedness of their characters, nor the injuries they may have done herself in particular, are the least exception, but rather a peculiar recommendation.

Yarmouth.

'Such are the extravagancies which have long appeared to me in the character of this lady, whose friendship and resentment I have felt by turns for a course of many years acquaintance and intimacy; and yet, after all these blemishes and vices, which I must freely own in her, he would do her, in my opinion, the greatest injury, who should say she was *a great wicked woman*; for all that is great and good in her, seems to be owing to a true magnanimity of spirit, and a sincere desire to serve the interest of God and all mankind; and all that is otherwise, to wrong principles, early and strongly imbibed by a temperament of body, (shall I call it), or a turn of mind, to the last degree enthusiastic and visionary,' &c. &c.

Mr. Say's character of Mrs. Bendysh, Mr. Hewling Luson observed, (in a letter to Dr. Brooke, dated Norwich, April 28, 1773), 'is perfectly just: in my opinion, it is well drawn, and exhibits a striking likeness.' Mr. Luson himself added some interesting features to the portrait.

'Mrs. Bendysh (said Mr. L.) resembled the Protector in nothing more than in that restless, unabated activity of spirit, which, by the coincidence of a thousand favourable circumstances, conducted him to the summit of power and of fame, and entangled her, generally, unfavoured by success, in a thousand embarrassments and disgraces: yet she never fainted or wearied;—"one prospect lost, another still she gained;"—and the enthusiasm of her faith kept pace with, or, to speak more truly, far outran the activity of her mind.

'Mrs. Bendysh had, however, one constant, never-failing resource against the vexation of disappointments: for, as she determined, at all events, to "serve the Lord with gladness," her way was to rejoice at every thing as it arrived. If she succeeded, she was thankful for that; and, if she suffered adversity, which was generally her lot, she was vastly more thankful for that; and she so managed, that her spiritual joy always increased with her outward sufferings. Happy delirium of pious enthusiasm!

'But Mrs. Bendysh's enthusiasm never carried her to greater lengths of extravagance, than in the justification of her grandfather, of whose memory she was passionately fond. * * * She valued him, no doubt, very highly, as a general and politician; but she had got it fixed in her head, that this kind of fame was vain and worthless, when compared with the gracious glory of Oliver's saintship. "A chosen vessel" he was; "a regenerate child of God, divinely inspired;" and much more jargon of this sort. * * * Her friends gave way to her whims, or laughed them off; but when her faith in Oliver was gravely contested by strangers, great and fearful was her wrath. * * * It happened that, in a stage-coach, where she was not personally known, Mrs. Bendysh fell into a violent dispute in behalf of the Protector; the opponent was as hot and as violent as the lady; and if, towards the end of the stage, their anger subsided, it was not for want of wrath, or of words, to keep it up, but for want of breath to give it utterance. After they went out of the coach, and had taken some refreshment, the old lady very calmly and respectfully desired to speak apart with the gentleman who had been her opponent in the dispute. When she had him alone, she told him, with great composure, "he had, in the grossest manner, belied and abused the most pious man that ever lived; that Cromwell's blood, that flowed in her veins, would not allow her to pass over the indignities cast on his memory in her presence; that she could not handle a sword, but she could fire a pistol as well as he, and that she demanded immediate satisfaction to the injured honour of her family." The gentleman was exceedingly amazed at the oddness of this address; but, as he happened to carry about him good sense enough to teach him how to act upon the spot, he immediately told her, "there were many great qualities in Oliver, which he honoured as much as she could; that if he had known, or suspected, her relationship to him, he would not have said a word on the subject to give her offence,

and that he sincerely asked her pardon." This submission completely satisfied her; and they finished their journey with much pleasure and good humour; but *Saint* Oliver was not again brought on the tapis. The truth of this story I never heard questioned.

'As the whole of Mrs. Bendysh's personal economy was out of the common form, her hours of visiting went generally out of the common season. She would very frequently come and visit at my father's at nine or ten at night, and sometimes later, if the doors were not shut up. On such visits she generally staid till about one in the morning. Such late visits, in those sober times, were considered by her friends as highly inconvenient, yet nobody complained of them to her. The respect she universally commanded, gave her a licence in this and many other irregularities. She would, on her visits, drink wine in great plenty; and the wine used to put her tongue into very brisk motion; but I do not remember that she was ever disgracefully exposed by it.

'There was an old mare, which had been the faithful companion of Mrs. Bendysh's adventures during many years. The old mare, and her manœuvres, were as well known at Yarmouth as the old lady. On this mare she was generally mounted; but, towards the end of her life, the mare was prevailed with to draw a chaise, in which Mrs. Bendysh often seated herself. She would never suffer a servant to attend her in these night visits: "God," she said, "was her guard, and she would have no other." At about one in the morning, she used to put herself on the top of the mare, or into the chaise, and set off on her return. When the mare began to move, Mrs. Bendysh began to sing a psalm, or one of Watts's hymns, in a very loud, but not a very harmonious key. This I have often heard: and thus the two old souls, the mare and her mistress, one gently trotting, and the other loudly singing, jogged on the length of a short mile from Yarmouth, which brought them home.'

Mrs. Bendysh married Thomas Bendysh, of Gray's-Inn, Middlesex, and of Southtown, in Sussex, Esq.; but at her death, in 1727-8, she had survived her husband twenty years. Being left in her widowhood with an income not exceeding two or three hundred pounds a year, may account for her speculations in the salt works; and she engaged also in other projects, such as grazing cattle, &c., by which, it is said, she was much oftener a loser than a gainer.

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4. MALE DESCENDANTS OF HENRY CROMWELL, LORD-LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND.

Henry Cromwell had five sons and two daughters; but of these, Henry Cromwell alone, his second son, born in 1658, continued the name in the Protectorate family. After his elder brother's death, he succeeded him in the estate at Spinney-abbey; but this estate he afterward disposed of, and entered the army. By the interest of the Duke of Ormond, (who had many obligations both to his father and grandfather), he became a major of foot; and, probably, would have obtained farther promotion, had he not been cut off by a fever whilst serving under Lord Galway in Spain. His death took place in 1711. Of his eight sons, two only had issue; Richard and Thomas. Richard, born May 11, 1695, was bred to the law, and became an eminent attorney-at-law and solicitor in chancery. He resided in Bartlett's-buildings, London; and had two sons, the elder of whom died unmarried, and the younger an infant. Thomas, seventh son of Major Henry Cromwell, and grandson of the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, was born August 19, 1699, and was a *Grocer* on Snow Hill, London; but 'his virtues deserved a more elevated employment.' He married twice; and had five sons

by these marriages; of whom Oliver, the third, and his son Oliver, were, when Noble wrote, by him truly stated to be 'the only male descendants of the Protector Oliver.' The former gentleman, lately resident at Cheshunt, Herts, was author of the 'Memoirs of the Protector, Oliver Cromwell,' occasionally alluded to in this volume. He was many years a respectable solicitor in Essex Street, Strand, and clerk to St. Thomas's Hospital, Southwark. He died May 31, 1821, at the age of 79. His son Oliver, together with another son, died young: but a daughter of the late Mr. Cromwell (Elizabeth-Olivera) married to Thomas Artemidorus Russel, Esq., continues to reside at Cheshunt. Mr. C. having been deprived by death of his two sons, was still naturally disposed to wish that the name of his great ancestor should not expire with him; and for that purpose, the writer has been given to understand, made application in latter years, in the usual quarter, for permission that his son-in-law should bear the sirname of Cromwell; when, to his astonishment, no doubt, (considering that such requests, upon payment of the customary fees, are commonly granted as matter of course), the permission was, by the *liberal* and *enlightened* official personages applied to, refused!

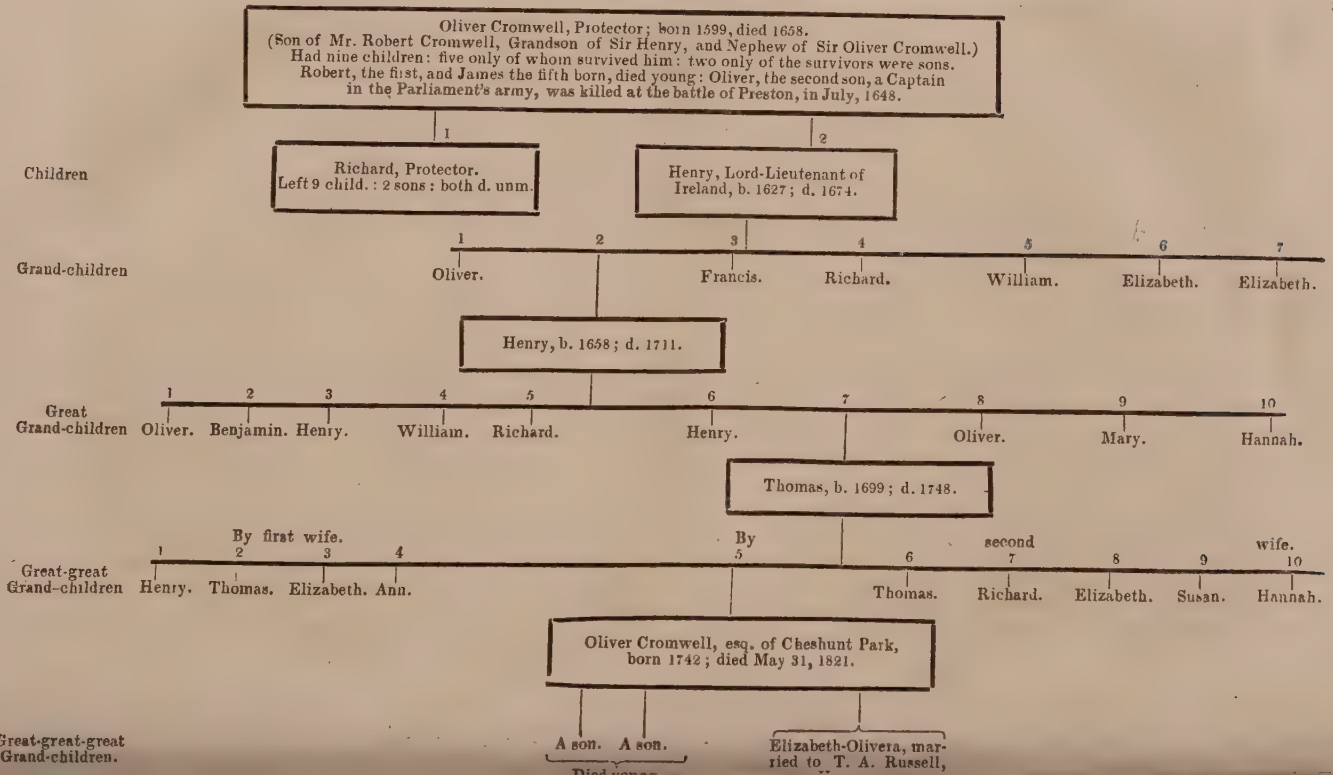
Thus, as Noble aptly, and even beautifully, and with a deserved compliment to the remaining branches of the family, remarked,—'the Protectorate house of Cromwell may not be improperly represented as a river, which, taking its rise in the mountains of Wales, continued long in that principality, (as the Williams family); when, gently gliding down the hills of Glamorganshire, and meandering through various counties, it arrived at the imperial Thames; where, having gained great strength, and enlarged its bounds, (by intermarriage with the family of Cromwell, Earl of Essex), it changed its ancient name, and, turning its course north-east, rolled on to Huntingdonshire; where it loitered a considerable time, and divided itself into various branches. One of the least of them

suddenly bursting its banks, swelled itself into a tremendous river; which not only swallowed up the main stream, but at length overflowed three mighty nations; and, by its rapidity, and dreadful violence, spread terror throughout the globe: when it as silently, as suddenly, returned to far less than its original limits; leaving, however, many noble branches behind it. Ever since, it has softly murmured on towards the south; where, instead of its former boundless current, it is now only admirable for the clearness and goodness of its stream.'

For a Genealogical Table of the Protectorate Family, see next Page.

GENEALOGY OF THE PROTECTORATE FAMILY, FROM OLIVER CROMWELL TO THE PRESENT TIME.

☞ *Male descendants, continuing the Name, are enclosed in parallelograms.*



(*a*)

He was baptized on the fourth day following, as appears from the following entry in the Register of St. John's parish.—*Anno Dni.* 1599. *Oliverius filius Roberti Cromwell, gener. et Elizabethæ, uxoris ejus, natus vicesimo quinto Die Aprilis, et Baptisatus vicesimo nono ejusdem mensis.*—Over which entry occur, in a different hand, the words, '*England's plague for five years*;' which a subsequent pen has been employed to dash through, but without obliterating them.

The site of the house in which Cromwell was born, (near the north end of Huntingdon,) is now occupied by a respectable brick mansion as "Cromwell-House Academy." Parts of the old walls are incorporated with the existing structure; and its inmates still point out to the stranger the situation of the chamber, which was the scene of Oliver's birth.

(*b*)

There are pedigrees extant, which trace their descent from the Lords of Powys and Cardigan, who flourished about the time of the Conquest. Mr. Noble's account of the *change* of the family name here deserves notice. "Henry VIII." he says, "strongly recommended it to the Welch to adopt the mode of most civilized nations, in taking family names, instead of their manner of adding their father's and perhaps grandfather's name to their own christian one, with *nap* or *ap* between the christian and sirname, as Morgan ap Williams, or Richard ap Morgan ap Williams, i. e. Richard, the son of Morgan, the son of William: and the king was the more

anxious, as it was found so inconvenient in identifying persons in judicial matters. Richard's *father* seems to have taken the name of Williams for his family name; but as the sirname of Williams was of so late standing, his majesty recommended it to *Sir Richard* to use that of Cromwell, in honour of his relation the Earl of Essex, whose present greatness entirely obliterated his former meanness."—It has not been generally recollected, though it is well worthy remark, that the name of Cromwell became that of the Protectorate family by *assumption* only; and was not derived in their instance, (as in that of the majority of family names in England), from the patrimonial property, the profession, or place of residence, of the original bearer. Thomas Cromwell, the son of Walter Cromwell, a blacksmith, and afterward brewer, of Putney, Surrey, was the real founder of the greatness, not merely of his own family, but of that of the Williams's; who, upon his introduction of them (when he had become Earl of Essex) to Henry VIII., took, in compliment to him, as just related, and as an honour it may be presumed also to themselves, his paternal name: the wealth and honours which were afterward so lavishly showered down upon Sir Richard Williams, alias Cromwell, were entirely the fruits of the intervention of their then all-powerful friend, and relative by marriage, the same nobleman.—Vide (*c.*)

(*c*)

As 'Vicar-general of all spirituals' under Henry VIII., Cromwell, Earl of Essex, had found opportunities, which he did not neglect, of obliging his kinsman, then 'Richard Williams, alias Cromwell, Esq.,' and others, with the sale of the lately dissolved religious houses, at sums infinitely below the very great value of most. Some of the most advantageous

purchases were made by this ancestor of the Huntingdonshire Cromwells; whence the magnificent bearing of this Sir Oliver, the Protector's uncle, which we shall presently describe: among other possessions, those of the nunnery of Hinchinbrooke, and the monastery of Saltry-Judith, both in Hunts, and all the manors, situate in the same county, together with the scite, of the rich abbey of Ramsey, thus became the property of Richard Williams. Additions were made to these by the King, even after the fall of the favourite Cromwell; so that, at the period of his death, Sir Richard's estates probably equalled in value (allowing for the alteration in the value of money) those of the wealthiest peers of the present day. At a tournament, held by his royal master, and described by the faithful Stowe, *Richard Cromwell Esq.* is named as one of the challengers; all of whom were rewarded on the occasion by the king with an annual income of an hundred marks, granted out of the dissolved Franciscan monastery of Stamford, and with houses each to reside in. His majesty was more particularly delighted with the gallantry of Sir Richard Cromwell, (whom he had knighted on the second day of the tournament); and exclaiming 'formerly thou wast my *Dick*, but hereafter thou shalt be my *Diamond*,' presented him with a diamond ring, bidding him for the future wear such an one in the fore gamb of the demy lion in his crest, instead of a javelin as heretofore. The arms of Sir Richard, with this alteration, were ever afterwards borne by the elder branch of the family; and by Oliver himself on his assuming the protectorship, though previously he had borne the javelin.

Fuller gives a place to Sir Oliver Cromwell among his 'Worthies' of Huntingdonshire; and describes him as remarkable on a fourfold account: "first, for his hospitality and prodigious entertainment of King James and his court; secondly, for his upright dealings in bargain and sale with all chapmen; thirdly, for his loyalty, always beholding the usur-

pation and tyranny of his nephew, godson, and namesake, with hatred and contempt; lastly, for his vivacity, who survived to be the oldest knight who was a gentleman."

Noble says, Sir Oliver "had the felicity to entertain two, if not three, of the English monarchs; his gracious mistress queen Elizabeth, upon her majesty's leaving the university of Cambridge, to which she had been to pay a visit; king James I. several times; and I think also, king Charles I. But the most memorable visit was that given to him by king James I. on his accession to the English throne. Finding that his majesty would pass through Huntingdon, he determined to entertain him at Hinchinbrook-House, a seat of his adjacent to that town; and that he might do this with more elegance and ease, he hastily made such improvements in his house as he judged most proper; and at this time built that very elegant great bow-window to the dining room, &c. His majesty came to Hinchinbrooke-House, April 27, 1603, the earl of Southampton carrying the sword of state before him: he there met with a more magnificent reception than he had ever done since his leaving his paternal kingdom, both for the plenty and variety of meats and wines." "It is inconceivable," he adds, "with what pleasure the English received the King: all strove to please, every one to see the new sovereign who was to unite two jarring and valiant kingdoms, and to be the common monarch of both. Sir Oliver gratified them to the full: his doors were thrown wide open to receive all that chose to pay their respects to the new king, or even to see him, and each individual was welcomed with the choicest viands, the most costly wines; even the populace had free access to the cellars, during the whole of his majesty's stay. His majesty remained with Sir Oliver till after he had breakfasted on the twenty-ninth of April. At his leaving Hinchinbrooke, he was pleased to express the obligations he had received from him and his lady: to the former he said, at parting, as he passed through the court, in his broad Scotch manner, 'morry mon,

thou hast treated me better than any one since I left Edenburgh,' and it is more than probable than ever that prince was treated before or after; for it is said, Sir Oliver at this time gave 'the greatest feast that had been given to a king by a subject.'"—Sir Oliver's installation as a Knight of the Bath speedily followed this courteous and flattering reception of his new sovereign; that ceremony taking place even before the coronation.

This worthy knight, as we are farther informed by Noble, "was not an idle spectator in the dreadful civil war which the tyranny of king Charles I., and the ambition of the popular leaders, had involved this kingdom in; but, remembering the many obligations he and his ancestors lay under to the crown, he determined to support the royal cause: for which purpose, he not only (at a very heavy expence) raised men, and gave large sums of money, but obliged his sons to take up arms and go into the regal army; and he was of greater use to his Majesty than any person in that part of the kingdom, by which he rendered himself particularly obnoxious to the parliament. The great expences this attachment to an unfortunate party put him to, obliged him to dispose of his grand seat of Hinchinbrooke to Sir Sidney Montague, the youngest of six sons of Edward Lord Montague, of Boughton. After this, he went to reside at Ramsey, where he continued till his death. Nothing was able to shake Sir Oliver's loyalty: he supported the royal party to the last; for which, like many others, he was sentenced to have all his estates, both real and personal, sequestered: but they were saved through the interposition, and for the sake, of his nephew, Oliver, then Lieutenant-general: and the parliament, April 17, 1648, took off the sequestration, in which he is styled Sir Oliver Cromwell, of Ramsey-Moore, in the county of Huntingdon, Knight of the Bath. During the whole of the usurpation, as well by the commonwealth, as under the government of his relation Oliver, he followed the example of the grandee

loyalists, in courting privacy and retirement. This fortitude in not courting the favour of the Protector is the more observable, and praise-worthy, as, from the repeated losses he had sustained, from his loyalty, his numerous family, and want of œconomy in both himself and his sons, the evening of his life was rendered very disagreeable upon pecuniary accounts, he dying oppressed with a load of debts. His death happened, August 28, 1655, in the ninety-third year of his age: he was buried the same night (it is reported to prevent his body's being seized by his creditors) in the church of Ramsey: but there is no memorial of him or his family, nor does there seem ever to have been any in that church; but, upon sounding, I discovered that there is a vault just entering into the chancel, where the Cromwells are said to have been buried."

(*d*)

The scene referred to is this:—

ACT I. SCENE IV.

MENDACIO. TACTUS.

(The speeches of Mendacio are to be understood as all spoken aside.)

Mend. Now, chaste Diana! grant my nets may hold.
Tact. The blasting childhood of the cheerful morn
Is almost grown a youth, and overclimbs
Yonder gilt eastern hills; about which time,
Gustus most earnestly importuned me
To meet him hereabouts: what course I know not.
Mend. You shall do shortly, to your cost, I hope.
Tact. Sure by the sun it should be nine o'clock!
Mend. What a star-gazer! will you ne'er look down?

Tact. Clear is the sun, and blue the firmament:
Methinks the heavens do smile.

Mend. At thy mishap,
To look so high, and stumble in a trap.

(*Tactus stumbling at the robe and crown.*)

Tact. High thoughts have slippery feet: I had well nigh fallen.

Mend. Well doth he fall, who riseth with a fall.

Tact. What's this?

Mend. Oh! are you taken? 'tis in vain to strive.

Tact. How now?

Mend. You'll be so entangled straight—

Tact. A crown!

Mend. That it will be hard—

Tact. And a robe!

Mend. To loose yourself.

Tact. A crown and robe!

Mend. It would have been better for you to have found a fool's coat, and a bauble; hey, hey.

Tact. Jupiter! Jupiter! how came this here?

Mend. Oh, sir, Jupiter is making thunder; he hears you not: here's one knows better.

Tact. 'Tis wondrous rich; ha! but sure it is not so: ho!
Do I not sleep, and dream of this good luck, ha?
No, I am awake, and feel it now.
Whose should it be? (*He takes it up.*)

Mend. Set up a *si quis* for it.

Tact. Mercury, all's mine own! here's none to cry half's mine—

Mend. When I am gone.

(*A Soliloquy.*)

Tact. Tactus, thy sneezing somewhat did portend:
Was ever man so fortunate as I,

To break his shins at such a stumbling block?
Roses and bays packe hence: this crown and robe
My brows and body circle and invest:
How gallantly it fits me! sure the slave
Measured my head, that wrought this coronet!
They lie, who say complexions cannot change:
My blood's ennobled, and I am transform'd
Unto the sacred temper of a King.
Methinks I hear my noble parasites
Styling me Cæsar, or great Alexander,
Licking my feet, and wondering where I got
This precious ointment:—how my pace is mended!
How princely do I speak! how sharp I threaten!
Peasants, I'll curb your headstrong impudence,
And make you tremble when the lion roars:—
Ye earth-bred worms!—O, for a looking glass!
Poets will write whole volumes of this scarre!
—— Where's my attendants? &c. &c.

(e)

The entry in the College Register may possibly be an object of interest to some readers. It stands thus:—

A festo Añunciationis 1616. OLIVERIUS CROMWELL *Huntingdoniensis admissus ad commeatum Sociorum Aprilis vicessimo tertio: Tutore Mr.º Ricardo Howlet.*

Between which entry and the next, crowded in, and in a smaller letter, his character is thus curiously drawn by some unknown hand:—

Hic fuit grandis ille Impostor, carnifex perditissimus, qui pientissimo Rege Carolo I.º nefaria cæde sublato, ipsum usurpavit thronum et tria regna, per quinq. ferme annorum spatium, sub Protectoris Nomine indomita Tyrannide vexavit.

(*f*)

A Ballad that has reached our times, in which Cromwell is ridiculed as having been a Brewer, has a reference to the chief incidents of his life, and may be thought still worth preserving.

THE PROTECTING BREWER.

A brewer may be a *Burgess* grave,
And carry the matter so fine and so brave,
That he the better may play the Knave,
Which nobody can deny.

A brewer may be a *Parliament-man,*
For there the knavery first began,
And brew most cunning plots he can,
Which nobody can deny.

A brewer may put on a Nabal face,
And march to the wars with such a grace,
That he may get a *Captain's* place,
Which nobody can deny.

A brewer may speak so wondrous well,
That he may rise (strange things to tell)
And so be made a *Colonel,*
Which nobody can deny.

A brewer may make his foes to flee,
And raise his fortunes so that he
Lieutenant-general may be,
Which nobody can deny.

A brewer may be all in all,
And raise his powers both great and small,
That he may be a *Lord-General,*
Which nobody can deny.

A brewer may be like a fox in a cub,
And teach a *lecture* out of a tub,
And give the wicked world a rub,
Which nobody can deny.

A brewer, by his excise and rate,
Will promise his army he knows what,
And *set upon the college gate*,*
Which nobody can deny.

Methinks I hear one say to me,
Pray why may not a brewer be
Lord Chancellor o' th' University?
Which nobody can deny.

A brewer may be as bold as Hector,
When as he had drank his cup of Nectar;
And a brewer may be a *Lord Protector*,
Which nobody can deny.

Now here remains the strangest thing,
How this brewer about his liquor did bring;
To be an *Emperor*, or a *King*,
Which nobody can deny.

A brewer may do what he will,
And rob the Church and State, to sell
His soul unto the d—l in h—ll,
Which nobody can deny.

Walker, who wrote the 'History of Independency,' and prophecied that Cromwell (then only Lieutenant-general to Fairfax) would assume the supreme sway, added to his prediction

* An unimportant incident, of which no historian gives any very clear or consistent account.

—" then let all true saints and subjects cry out with me, 'God save King Oliver, and his *brewing-vessels!*'" And, speaking of Harry Parker, under the name of Observator, he notices his return from Hamborough, and that 'he is highly preferred to be a *brewer's* clerk (alias secretary to Cromwell).' Cowley's 'Cutter of Coleman-street' has an allusion to Cromwell, when Worm is made to ask—'What parts hast thou? Hast thou schollarship enough to make a *brewer's* clerk?'

(g)

The original of this letter, which is as follows, is in the British Museum.

Mr. Storie, amongst the catalogue of those good workes which your fellow citycenes and our countrie men have donn, this will not be reckoned for the least, that they have provided for the feedinge of soules: buildinge of hospitalls provides for mens bodyes; to build materiall temples is iudged a worke of pietye; but they that procure spirituall food, they that build up spirituall temples, they are the men trulye charitable, trulye pious. Such a work as this was your erectinge the lecture in our cuntrie, in the which you placed Dr. Welles, a man of goodnesse, and industrie, and abilitie every way, not short of any I knowe in England; and I am perswaded that sithence his cominge, the Lord by him hath wrought much good amongst us. It only remains now that he whoe first moved you to this, put you forward to the continewance thereof: it was the Lord, and therefore to him lift we up our harts that he would perfect itt. And surely Mr. Storie it were a piteous thinge to see a lecture fall into the handes of soe manie able and godly men, as I am perswaded the founders of this are, in theise times wherein we see they are suppressed with too

much hast and violence by the enemies of God his truth: far be it that soe much guilt should sticke to your hands, who live in a citye so renowned for the clere shininge light of the gospell. You knowe Mr. Storie to withdrawe the pay is to lett fall the lecture, for whoe goeth to warfare at his owne cost? I beseech you therefore in the bowells of Christ Jesus putt itt forward, and let the good man have his pay. The soules of God his children will bless you for it; and so shall I, and ever rest

Your lovinge friend in the Lord,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

Commende my hearty love to Mr. Busse, Mr. Beadley, and my other good friends. I would have written to Mr. Busse, but I was loath to trouble him with a longe letter, and I feared I should not receive an answer from him: from you I expect one soe soon as conveniently you may. *Vale.* To my very lovinge friend Mr. Storie, at the sign of the Dogg in the Royal Exchange London, d^le. theise.

St. Ives, Jan. 11, 1635.

(h)

Mercurius Pragmaticus, May 30, 1648.—Newspapers are erroneously stated by Dr. Johnson, and several other writers, to have been first printed in England in the time of the civil wars: the fact is, that the civil wars did no more than very essentially contribute to their extension and celebrity. The first newspaper published in this country was that in the reign of Elizabeth, anno 1588, called "The English Mercury:" it appeared twice a week; and No. 50 of this print, giving a formal account of the introduction of a

Scotch Ambassador to the Queen, now forms Art. 4106 of the Sloanean Collection in the British Museum.

(i)

Sir Thomas Fairfax to Lieutenant-general Cromwell: dated June 11th. 1645.

(From Rushworth's Collections.)

Sir,

You will find by the enclosed vote of the House of Commons, a liberty given me to appoint you lieutenant-general of the horse of this army, during such time as that House shall be pleased to dispense with your attendance. You cannot expect but that I make use of so good an advantage, as I apprehend this to be, to the public good: and therefore I desire you to make speedy repair to this army, and give order that the troops of horse you had from hence, and what other horse or dragoons can be spared from the attendance of your foot in their coming up, march hither with convenient speed; and as for any other forces you have there, I shall not need to desire you to dispose of them as you shall find most for the public advantage, which we here apprehend to be, that they march towards us by the way of Bedford. We are now quartered at Wilton, two miles from Northampton; the enemy still at Daventry. Our intelligence is, that they intend to move on Friday; but which way, we cannot yet tell. They are, as we hear, more horse than foot, and make their horse their confidence: ours shall be in God. I pray all possible haste toward your affectionate friend to serve you,

Thomas Fairfax.

(k)

The following, with two other letters, descriptive of the battle of Naseby, were found in 1754, in a wall nine feet thick, on pulling down a house in Palace-yard, Westminster, in order to build an office for the clerks of the House of Lords; and then passed into the hands of Horace Walpole, Esq. afterward Earl of Orford. These were the originals: but they were printed, by order of Parliament, June 16, 1645, and are to be found also in Rushworth's Collections; and Cromwell's letter is now in the British Museum.

Indorsed. For the Hon. William Lenthall, Speaker of commons house of parliament. Theise.

Sir,

Being commanded by you to this service, I think myself bound to acquaint you with the good hand of God towards you and us. We marched yesterday after the Kinge, who went before us from Daventree to Haverbrowe, and quartered about six miles from him: this day we marched towards him. Hee drew out to meet us; both armies ingaged: we, after three howers fight, very doubtful, att last routed his armie; killed and tooke about 5000, very many officers, but of what qualitye wee yet know not: wee took also about 200 carrag- - all hee had, and all his guns, being 12 in number, whereof 2 were demie cannon, 2 demie culverniges, and (I think) the rest sacers. We pursued - - - enemy from 3 miles short of Ha - - - to nine beyond, even to sight of Leices - - - whither the King fled. Sir, this is non other but the hand of God, and to him alone belongs the glorie, wherein non are to share with him. The general served you with all faithfulnesse and honour; and the best commendations I can give him is that, I d - - say, he attributes all to God, and would rather perish than assume to himselfe; which is an honest and a

thrivinge way, and yet as much for bravery may be given to him in this action as to a man. Honest men served you faithfully in this action. Sir, they are trustye. I beseech you in the name of God not to discourage them. I wish this action may beget thankfulnesse and humilitye in all that are concerned in it. He that venters life for the libertie of his countrie, I wish hee trust God for the libertie of his conscience, and you for the libertye he fights for: in this hee rests whoe is

Your most humble servant,

June 14, 1645. OLIVER CROMWELL.

Haverbrowe.

(l)

Of this sum, £1680. per annum were charged upon the estates of the Earl of Worcester.—A short time after, Cromwell gave an example of a public spirited sacrifice to the exigencies of the state, which many of his detractors in that and subsequent times would have better done to follow. On the 24th of March, 1647, Sir John Evelyn reported from the committee for the affairs of Ireland an offer of the Lieutenant-general to the two Houses, to the following effect: "The two Houses of Parliament having lately bestowed 1680*l.* per annum upon me and my heirs out of the Earl of Worcester's estate; the necessity of affairs requiring assistance, I do hereby offer 1000*l.* annually, to be paid out of the rents of the said lands: that is to say, 500*l.* out of the next Michaelmas rents, and so on by the half years, for the space of five years, if the war in Ireland shall so long continue, or that I live so long; to be employed for the service of Ireland, as the Parliament shall please to appoint; provided the said yearly rent of 1680*l.* become not to be suspended by war or other accident. And

whereas there is an arrear of pay due to me whilst I was lieutenant-general unto the Earl of Manchester, of about 1500*l.*, audited and stated; as also a great arrear due for about two years being Governor of the Isle of Ely; I do hereby discharge the state from all or any claim to be made by me thereunto, 21$_o$ Martii, 1647. O. Cromwell." The offer was accepted, with thanks for the Lieutenant-general's zeal and good affections.—*Journals.*

(m)

These desiderata are given more at large in a manuscript paper, (copied by Dr. Harris, and still, it may be, extant), supposed to have been written by an officer in the Parliament's army about the end of the year 1647, and soon after that period known to have been in the possession of a Colonel Saunders, of Derbyshire, with whom Cromwell corresponded. The paper opens with an *exposé*—applicable (of course) only to the precise year 1647,—of the state of public affairs. The following are a few extracts:

"Wee find *taxes to be multiplied without number or hopes of end; and excise so cruelly exacted, that noe man knows what is, or what shall be, his own; the public debts dayly increased, instead of being satisfied; and such vast sums of money payed out of the public treasurie for interest unto some, as is almost incredible:*

"Wee find that *the restraininge men's persons att pleasure, without cause rendered, and during pleasure*, was never more frequent:

"Wee find *that barbarous course still maintained of imprisoning men for debt;* thereby hindering them from the use of their lawful callings; though they have nothing else where-

with to satisfy their creditors, or to preserve themselves and their families from starvinge:

"*Tithes*"—"whose beginning was superstitious, and are found by experience to oppress the poor husbandmen, and to be vexatious to all manner of people"—also find a place in the picture of grievances. But the writer considers the (then) condition of the nation as "*most desperate*," in that they were not "*suffered to petition* for redress," but that "*persons were imprisoned for petitioning*," &c.

The desiderata are next "propounded:" a few of them are as follows:

"*That the people be equally proportioned, for the choice of the deputies in all future parliaments.*

"That *the great officers of the nation*, as well civil as military, be *often removed*, and others put in their room, either every yeare, or every second yeare at farthest; to the end the persons employed may discharge themselves with greater care, when they know themselves lyable to *a speedy account:* and that *other men may be encouraged to deserve preferment, when they see the present incumbents not affixed to their offices as to freeholds.*

"That *the huge volumes of statute laws and ordinances, with the penalties therein imposed, as well corporal as pecuniary, be well revised*, and such only left in force, as shall be found fit for the commonwealth: *especially that men's lives be more precious than formerly, and that lesser punishment than death, and more useful to the public, be found out for smaller offences*: that *proceedings be reduced to a more certain charge, and a more expeditious way, than formerly*: and that *no fees at all be exacted of the people in courts of justice.*

"That *estates of all kinds, real and personal, be made lyable to debts;* but *noe imprisonment at all by way of punishment, nor in order to makinge satisfaction which possi-*

bly can never be made, but *only by way of security in order to a tryal for some criminal fact;* such fact *to be determined on within some short and certain space of time:* and that *this power of restraininge men's persons be very cautiously allowed;* to which end, *the benefits of* HABEAS CORPUS *to be in noe case denied by those whom it concerns to grant them.*

"That *tythes be wholly taken away; the parishioners from whom they are due paying in lieu thereof to the state, where they are not impropriate, and to the owners where they are, moderate and certain rent-charge out of their lands.*

"That, soe soone as public occasions will possibly permit, *the impositon of excise, and all other taxes upon the people, be wholly taken away:*"

But, having again arrived at the mention of that political leviathan, TAXATION, we silence this unreasonable complainant of the *seventeenth* century; invoking him, in propriâ personâ, to appear, and witness how happily that and all the other burdens and grievances of 'merry England,' upon which he descants, have been "*wholly taken away*" at the commencement of the *nineteenth.*

(n)

Votes alluded to in the following letter to Colonel Robert Hammond, Governor of the Isle of Wight: written during the King's detention in Carisbrooke Castle.

(The original of this letter was, when Harris wrote, 'in the possession of Theodosius Forest, Esq. of George-street, Yorke-Buildings, London.)

Deerest Robin,

Now (blessed be God) I can write, and thou receave

freely. I never in my life sawe more deepe sense, and less will to shewe itt unchristianly, than in that w^ch^ thou diddest write to us at Windsor,* and thou in the middest of thy tentation, w^ch^ indeed (by what wee understood of itt) was a great one, and occasioned the greater by the letter the generall sent thee, of w^ch^ thou wast not mistaken, when thou didest challenge mee to be the pener. How good has God beene to dispose all to mercy; and although itt was trouble for the present, yett glory is come out of itt, for w^ch^ we prayse the Lord with thee, and for thee, and truly thy carriage has biene such, as occasions much honor to the name of God, and to religion. Goe onn in the strength of the Lord, and the Lord bee still with thee. But (deere Robin) this businesse hath beene (I trust) a mightye providence to this poore kingdom, and too us all. The house of comons is very sensible of the K^gs^ dealings, and of our brethrens, in this late transaction. You should do well (if you have any thing that may discover iuglinge) to search itt out and lett us knowe itt; itt may bee of admirable use at this tyme, because wee shall (I hope) instantly goe upon businesses in relation to them, tendinge to prevent danger. The house of comons has this day voted as follows. First, that they will make no more addresses to the K. 2. None shall applye to him w^th^out leave of the two houses, upon paine of beinge guilty of high treason. 3dly. They will receive nothinge from the Kinge, nor shall any other bringe any thinge to them from him, nor receave any thinge from the Kinge. Lastly, the members of both houses, whoe were of the committee of both kingdoms, are established in all that power in themselves for England, and Ireland, w^ch^ they had to act with both kingdoms, and Sr. John Evelin of

* The letter spoken of appears however to be that, which Cromwell and Ireton shewed to Sir John Berkley, and '*smiled with much disdain upon it.*' See Page 212.

Wilts is added in the room of Mr. Recorder, and Rath. F. Fienis in the roome of Sir Phillip Stapleton, and my Lord of Kent, in the roome of the Earl of Essex. I think it good you take notice of this, the sooner the better.

Lett us knowe how its with you in point of strength, and what you neede from us: some of us thinke the Kinge well with you, and that itt concernes us to keep that island in great securitye, because of the French, &c. And if soe, where can the King be better? If you have more force, you will suer of full provision for them. The Lord blesse thee: pray for

Thy deere friend and servant,

O. Cromwell.

My Lord Wharton's Jan. 3d.
neere tenn at night, 1647.

(Superscribed)

For Col. Robert Hammond Governor
of the isle of Wight theise
For the service of the kingdom hast post hast.

Oliver Cromwell.

(o)

Every reader may not be acquainted with the fact, that the *Whitehall* here spoken of does not exist (or at least but a very small portion of it) in modern London. As mention occurs of the palace in subsequent instances, which might be unintelligible to those not apprized of this circumstance, it is here alluded to. The old palace occupied a considerable space along the bank of the Thames, contiguous to where Westminster-bridge now stands, commencing at the present Privy Gardens, and ending near Scotland Yard. It extended

also from the river to St. James's Park, along the boundary of which, including the Cockpit and Spring Gardens, many of its various buildings were situated. Hubert de Burgh, Justiciary of England in the reign of Henry III., was its first owner; but, becoming subsequently the property of the prelates of York, it was the *York House* more than once mentioned by Shakespeare. Cardinal Wolsey, as Archbishop of York, disposed of it to Henry VIII.; from whose time, it became the residence of the sovereigns of England until the reign of Anne, anno 1695, when it was consumed by fire, and the Queen in consequence removed her court to St. James's. The *Banquetting House*, (now commonly called Whitehall) which was built by James I. in the room of an old building that Elizabeth had devoted to a similar purpose, alone escaped this catastrophe; and, happily, it still remains a monument of the purer taste in palacial and domestic architecture introduced to England by the celebrated Inigo Jones.

(p)

The *Painted Chamber* is a remain of the old royal palace of Westminster, originally built by Edward the Confessor. It is now used for the conferences of the Lords and Commons, and is hung with antique and mean-looking tapestry of French manufacture.

THE WARRANT FOR BEHEADING CHARLES I.

At the high Cort of Justice for the tryinge and judginge of Charles Steuart Kinge of England January 29th Anno Dm. 1648.

Whereas Charles Steuart Kinge of England is and standeth convicted attaynted and condemned of High Treason and other high Crymes And sentence uppon Saturday last was pronounced against him by this Cort to be putt to death by the severinge of his head from his body Of wch sentence execution remayneth to be done. These are therefore to will and require you to see the said sentence executed In the open Streete before Whitehall upon the morrowe being the Thirtieth - - day of this instante moneth of January betweene the hours of Tenn in the morninge and Five in the afternoone of the same day wth full effect And for soe doing this shall be yor sufficient warrant And these are to require All Officers and Souldiers and other the good people of this Nation of England to be assistinge unto you in this service Given under or Hands and Seales

To Collonell Francis Hacker Colonell Huncks and Lieutenant Colonell Phayre and to every of them

(Seals.)	(Seals.)	(Seals.)	(Seals.)	(Seals.)	(Seals.)
Jo. Bradshawe	*Har. Waller*	*Ri. Deane*	*Henry Marten*	*Tho. Horton*	*Tho. Challoner*
Tho. Grey	*John Blakiston*	*Robert Tichborne*	*Vint Potter*	*J. Jones*	*Tho. Wogan*
O. Cromwell	*J. Hutchinson*	*H. Edwardes*	*Wm. Constable*	*John Frenne*	*John Venne*
Edw. Whalley	*Willi. Goff*	*Daniel Blagrave*	*Rich. Ingoldesby*	*Gilbt. Millington*	*Gregory Clement*
M. Livesey	*Tho. Pride*	*Owen Rowe*	*Will. Cawley*	*G. Ffleetwood*	*Jo. Downes*
John Okey	*Pe. Temple*	*Willm. Perfoy*	*Jo. Barkstead*	*J. Alured*	*Tho. Wayte*
J. Davers	*T. Harrison*	*Ad. Scrope*	*Isaa. Ewer*	*Robt. Lilburne*	*Tho. Scott*
Jo. Bourchier	*J. Hewson*	*James Temple*	*John Dixwell*	*Will. Say*	*Jo. Carew*
H. Ireton	*Hen. Smyth*	*A. Garland*	*Valentine Wauton*	*Anth. Stapley*	*Miles Corbet*
Tho. Mauleverer	*Per. Pelham*	*Edm. Ludlowe*	*Symon Mayne*	*Gre. Norton*	

(A most accurate Fac-Simile of this Warrant was engraved by the Society of Antiquaries, on a large sheet, in 1750: but it may be useful to apprise the Public, that certain pretended Fac-Similies, *now on sale*, are mere copies, very incorrectly executed, of that respectable Society's work.)

(r)

Of this character, undoubtedly, was the story seriously given by Dr. Harris, from Lord Clarendon, respecting 'Colonel Ingoldesby, a relation of Cromwell, and named a judge,' but who, 'disliking the action, always absented himself.' But, (agreeably to his Lordship and the Doctor), 'having *occasion* to go to the Painted Chamber the day after the sentence was pronounced, he saw Cromwell, and the rest who sate upon the King, and were then, as he found afterwards, assembled to sign the warrant for the King's death. As soon as Cromwell's eyes were upon him, he ran to him, and, taking him by the hand, drew him by force to the table; and said, though he had escaped him all the while before, he should now sign that paper as well as they; which he, seeing what it was, refused with great passion; saying he knew nothing of the business, and offered to go away. But Cromwell, and others, held him by violence: and Cromwell, with loud laughter, taking his hand in his, and putting the pen between his fingers, with his own hand writ *Richard Ingoldesby*, he making all the resistance he could.' Noble remarks, that the Colonel, in describing the force he thus alleges to have been put upon him, to procure his signature to the warrant, 'forgot to say that his *seal* was also forced from him and used;' and it is well worthy of observation, that the autograph in question appears, from the Antiquarian Society's fac-simile, to have been one of the very best, and boldest, and most steadily written, upon that instrument. Mrs. Hutchinson notices Ingoldesby's narration as 'a false tale how Cromwell held his hand, and forced him to subscribe the sentence;' and relates that 'he, with many tears, professed his repentance for that murder, and made a most whining recantation.' This false tale, however, together with his seizure of General Lambert just previous to the Restoration,

answered Ingoldesby's purpose so well, that he escaped unpunished; as did Colonel Hutchinson also, (who equally signed the warrant), but by much more honourable means. The principles of the latter were respected, notwithstanding he declined giving his testimony 'in a business transacted so many years ago, wherein life was concerned: having been' (he somewhat sarcastically added) 'so little an observer, that he could not remember the least tittle of that most eminent circumstance of Cromwell's forcing Col. Ingoldesby to set to his unwilling hand; which, if his life had depended upon that circumstance, *he* could not have affirmed.'

(*s*)

Yet, unless we admit of such impunity in the monarch, the following passage in the first clause of the Act of Attainder passed upon the Restoration of Charles the Second, (when loyalty in its turn became fanatic), is manifestly absurd:—"That, by the undoubted and fundamental laws of this kingdom, neither the Peers of this realm, nor the Commons, nor both together, in Parliament or out of Parliament, *nor the People collectively or representatively*, nor any other persons whatsoever, ever had, have, hath, or ought to have, *any coercive power* over the persons of the Kings of this realm." If this doctrine be restricted to the *personal punishment* of the King, for crimes committed in the exercise of his high office, we admit—not its abstract justice—but its consonance with the long-descended principles of the constitution, and its necessity, so far as has yet appeared, to the general welfare of the State; if it means, that a delinquent King cannot be *forcibly removed* from his mal-administration of the government, (as was James II. by the assumption of his authority, coupled, in his instance, with permission granted him to leave the King-

dom,) we repeat, that common sense and past example both now demonstrate its absurdity.

In speaking of the permission granted the last Stuart that filled the English throne to leave the kingdom, it may be necessary to make some allusion to the following facts.—James's *flight* was prevented, at first, by his accidental discovery in a small vessel off Shellness, Kent, from whence he was conducted to Faversham, in the same county: information of which being transmitted to the Lords of the Council, they sent orders to *prevail* on him, if possible, to return to Whitehall, "but *not to put any restraint upon his person*, if his resolution continued to go beyond the seas." James returned to Whitehall; and was afterward, upon his application to the Prince of Orange, (then at Windsor) guarded to Rochester: from which city he made the farther request of "a pass for France, for a Gentleman and two servants without name." This also being granted, the King thereby made his final escape: while the Prince of Orange must thus irresistibly appear to have indirectly *permitted*, what it is agreeable to all the facts to believe, with the historian Hume, that he chiefly *wished*. —See the Narrative of "Capt. Richard Marsh, an Eye-witness," in Jacob's "History of Faversham."

(*l*)

The following anecdote of Cromwell and Lord Broghill, (who faithfully served the Protector when he had become such), given in 'Morrice's Life of Lord Orrery,' relates to this period, and does honour to both the parties concerned. Lord Broghill, it seems, 'after the horrid murder was committed upon the King's sacred person,' gave up all Ireland for lost, and retired into England, to a small estate of his at Marston, in Somersetshire. But, during his retirement here, re-

solving 'to attempt something for the public as well as his private good,' he, under pretence of going to the Spa waters in Germany, intended to cross the seas, and apply himself to Charles II. for a commission to raise what forces he could to restore his Majesty in Ireland, and to recover his own estate in that country. He therefore sent to the Earl of Warwick, who had an interest in the prevailing party, desiring him to procure a licence for him to pass beyond the seas to Spa; not acquainting his Lordship, however, with his real intentions, and only communicating his design to some friends whom he imagined to be loyal and secret. He had already made up a considerable sum of money, and was arrived in London in order to prosecute his voyage; when a gentleman belonging to Cromwell came to his lodgings, to let him know that the General, his master, intended to wait upon him, if he knew but the hour when he would be at leisure to receive him. Much surprised at this, since he had never had any acquaintance with Cromwell, nor even exchanged a word with him, Lord Broghill told the gentleman he presumed he was mistaken, and that he could not be the person to whom he had been sent. The other answered. 'he was sent to Lord Broghill; and, therefore, if he was that Lord, he was sent to him.' His Lordship, finding therefore that there was no mistake, desired the messenger to present his humble service to the General, and to let him know that he would himself wait upon him, upon information of but 'when he might;' and the gentleman departed. His Lordship, in the mean time, was 'mightily concerned what Cromwell's business with him should be.' While yet musing on the subject, Cromwell came to him; and, after mutual salutations, told him, 'he had a great kindness and respect for his Lordship, and therefore he was come to acquaint him with something that did very nearly concern him, and to give him his advice in the matter.' He then proceeded to say, that the Council of State were acquainted with his designs; and, in fact, immediately unfolded all his

Lordship's imagined secret projects; assuring him at the same time, that he could even shew copies of his letters explaining them: adding, that 'the Council had ordered him to be clapt in the Tower upon his arrival in town; which had been executed accordingly, had not he himself interposed in his behalf, and procured some time to confer with him, to see whether he might not be drawn off from his purpose.' Upon this, being sufficiently assured that he was discovered, Broghill begged his Excellency's pardon, thanked him for his kindness, and desired to be advised what to do. Cromwell told him, that neither he, nor the Council, were strangers to his Lordship's actions in the Irish war; and, therefore, the subduing of the Irish rebels being now left to his care, he had obtained leave from the Council to make an offer to him, that if he would serve in the wars against the Irish, he should have a General Officer's command, and should have no oaths or engagements laid upon him, nor should be obliged to fight against any but the Irish themselves. Amazed at so generous a proposal, Broghill yet at first would have excused himself, desiring some time to consider of it: but Cromwell telling him 'he must resolve presently, because the Council, from whom he came, were resolved to send his Lordship to the Tower as soon as ever he should return to them, in case this offer was not readily accepted,' his Lordship prudently agreed to the proposed terms; promising, upon his word and honour, faithfully to assist his Excellency in subduing the Irish rebellion. Upon which, Cromwell briefly desired him immediately to hasten down to Bristol, where men should be sent to him, and ships await his transportation to the island; adding, that he himself would shortly follow with the main body of the army. —Thus did Cromwell contrive to win over the enemies to his cause to himself; and, as in this instance, so in others, to convert some of the firmest adherents of the Stuart family into his own most zealous friends, and the truest guardians of his after government and person.

(u)

The policy by which Ireland had been governed from the reign of Henry II. to the termination of that of Elizabeth, a period of more than 400 years, was nearly literally grounded on a maxim, first broached by the historian Cambrensis, (who accompanied the original adventurers from England), the substance of which was, that "the only way to civilize the Irish, was to exterminate them, and seize their estates." That a government, struggling to sustain itself in a hostile land upon such a basis, should prove the most disgraceful and intolerable that ever emanated from a country pretending to be civilized, can excite no wonder. And as little surprising is it, that the island, throughout those four centuries, should exhibit nothing but a succession of such tragic scenes, as horrible oppression, and infatuated misrule, and their consequences, desperate resistance, and sanguinary retaliation, were calculated to display; in addition to all those mutual barbarities, which the system of clanship, maintaining an unlessened sway over both the natives and the settlers, could produce. It is, however, somewhat remarkable, that the usually sagacious and comprehensive mind of Elizabeth should have imbibed most of the mistakes of her predecessors; and should even have afforded an additional handle, and a more extensive field, for their future action upon the island's affairs, by adding to the old distinctions of 'English settler' and 'mere Irishman,' or 'Irish native,' that also naturally arising out of the very confined adoption of Protestantism that resulted from her attempts to *impose* the Reformed religion upon the nation at large. But, notwithstanding the disastrous effects of so impolitic a scheme, the future tranquillity of Ireland might have been secured, had the successor of Elizabeth, James, persevered in the wisely conciliatory measures he resorted to at the opening of his reign. But James, it has been forcibly

observed, "commenced by planting and confiscating" (as a matter of form—in order to re-grant the surrendered lands to their owners—) "for the advantage of the country, and ended with confiscating for the advantage of himself." Of these latter iniquitous confiscations, the entire province of Connaught afforded a sweeping example. The native nobles and gentry of this large district had been protected, in the first instance, by re-grants from the King of their estates: but, as the modern reader will perhaps remark with the extreme of surprise, because it was afterward discovered that their patents had been enrolled (at the expense of several thousand pounds to the patentees) not on *parchment*, as the law requires, but in a *paper book*, the grants were declared void, the lands vested in the crown, and a 'plantation' of this whole extensive province, similar to one just effected in Ulster, determined on! Had James lived, Connaught, there is little doubt, as in all preceding cases in his reign, would have been immediately conferred "upon such British undertakers, as should be conformable to the religion established in the churches of his other kingdoms, and every way dutiful and obedient to the laws." The wiles of Charles, assisted by the arbitrary administration of Strafford, completed what death had hindered his father from accomplishing: for Charles also began with *royal graces* to the ancient proprietors, and finished by dispossessing them of their patrimonies. Connaught, Ulster, and very large portions of the kingdom besides, being therefore effectually '*planted*,' and too generally after this model, who will pretend astonishment at the effects, that, so soon as the popular ferment in Britain was known in Ireland, followed? Who will say, that the unhappy land was not then ripe for the dreadful sickle of national revenge?

The FEUDAL tenures, and the legal forms and proceedings that grew out of them, (the *Inquisitions post Mortem, Livery of Seisin, Licences and Pardons of Alienation*, &c. &c.) the grand instruments of oppression, within *the pale*, in the hands

of preceding sovereigns, being extended to the whole of Ireland in the early part of the reign of James, while they proved considerable sources of revenue to that monarch and to his successor, must also be supposed to have had their full share in producing the terrific revolt of the nation in 1641. The feudal principle, so largely infused into the constitution of England by the Conqueror, had been gradually wearing away, by the united influences of commerce and literature, in that country, for many years preceding the times of Charles; while in Ireland, on the contrary, its supremacy was still asserted both by Charles and James, in their formal claim of the right affected to remain in the crown to all the lands of the kingdom, in virtue of the fealty sworn by the several petty Kings of the provinces to Henry II. The abuses which the growing light of the age detected in the processes of *Inquisitions*, &c. so early as the reign of Henry VIII., had occasioned the creation of *Courts of Wards and Liveries*, (by statutes 32nd Henry VIII. cap. 46., and 33rd of the same king, cap. 22.); and a similar court was erected in Ireland, probably with irreproachable intentions, by James. But, by a fatality that has been found to attend the operation of English institutions, (they being intrusted to weak or corrupt administrators, distant from the seat of government,) in the latter country, a court, that, in the happier island, was of signal benefit to the subject, became only a new instrument of oppression to the Irish. Sir William Parsons, its projector, and first "Master," was enabled by its means to give full scope to his well-known hatred to the Irish gentry: and Lord Strafford extended its powers, until tyranny stalked unmasked within the utmost bounds of its jurisdiction. The "Remonstrance from Trym," (1642) notices, among its other subjects of complaint, "the many wilfully erroneous decrees and judgments of that court, by which the heirs of Catholique noblemen, and other Catholiques, were most cruelly and tyrannically dealt withal; destroyed in their estates, and bred in

dissolution and ignorance; their parents' debts unsatisfied; their sisters, and younger brothers, wholly unprovided for; the ancient and appearing tenures of mesne lords unregarded; estates, valid in law, and made valid for valuable considerations, avoyded against law; and the whole land filled up with the frequent swarms of escheators, feodaryes, pursuivants, and others, by authoritie of that court." The patriots of Charles's reign should be held in eternal honour, were it only for their having given the death blow to all feudal institutions (in so far as they continued to render the property or personal services of the subject, to any but the most trifling purposes, dependent upon the will of the sovereign or territorial lord) throughout the British isles; and more particularly should Cromwell, as the first ruler of the three kingdoms, who formally discontinued their use as fountains of the national revenue. To him it is, in truth, very greatly owing, that the muniments, forming so voluminous a portion of our early legal records, and relating to proceedings that came home to the daily business and bosoms of our ancestors, are now only occasionally alluded to by the topographer, and studied only by the laborious antiquary: for though Charles II. affected formally to abolish the feudal sources of pecuniary supply, by Stat. 12th (*de facto* 1st) Car. II. cap. 24., it was only because their actual discontinuance by the Parliament from the year 1645, and Cromwell's complete abolition of them in 1656, had rendered their renewed collection next only to impossible.

(*w*)

Letters from Cromwell to Richard Major, Esq. (whose daughter, Richard Cromwell, his son, had married), on his way to and after his arrival in Ireland.

1. For my very loving Brother Richard Major, Esq; att Hurslye. Theise.

(Indorsed, "Rec[d] 27 July, 1649. p. Messenger expresse from Newbery.)

Lovinge Brother,

I receaved your letter by Major Longe, and doe in answare thereunto accordinge to my best understandinge, with a due consideration of those gentlemen whoe have abid the brunt of the service. I am very glad to heere of your welfare, and that our children have so good leisure to make a journie to cate cherries: it's very excuseable in my daughter, I hope she may have a very good pretence for it. I assure you Sr. I wish her very well, and I believe shee knowes itt. I pray you tell her from mee, I expect she writes often to mee, by which I shall understand how all yonr familye doth, and shee will be kept in some exercise. I have delivered my sonn up to you, and I hope you will councell him; he will neede itt, and indeed I believe he likes well what you say, and will be advised by you: I wish he may be serious, the tymes requier itt. I hope my sister is in health, to whome I desier my very hartye affections and service may be presented, as also to my cozen Ann, (Mrs. Richard Cromwell's younger sister), to whom I wish a good husband. I desire my affections may be presented to all your familye, to which I wish a blessinge from the Lorde. I hope I shall have your prayers in the businesse to which I am called. My wife I trust wil be with you before itt bee longe, in her way towards Bristoll. Sr. discompose not your thoughts nor estate for what you are to pay mee. Lett me knowe wherein I may complye with your occasions and minde, and be confident you will finde mee to you as your owne heart. Wishinge your prosperitye and contentment very synceerlye. with the remembrance of my love, I rest

Your affectionate brother and servant,

Bristoll, O. CROMWELL.

July 19[th] 1649.

2. For my beloved brother Richard Major, esq. at Hurslye in the county of Hampton. Theise.

Deere brother,

I am not often at leisure, nor now, to salute my friendes, yet unwillinglye to loose this opportunitye, I take itt only to lett you knowe that you and your familye are often in my prayers. I wish the younge ones well, though they vouchsafe not to write to mee. As for Dick, I doe not much expect itt from him, knowinge his idlenesse; but I am angrie with my daughter as a promise breaker, pray you tell her soe, but I hope shee will redeeme herselfe.

It has pleased the Lord to give us (since the taking of Wexford and Rosse) a good interest in Munster by the access of Corke and Youghall, which are both submitted; their commissioners are now with mee. Diverse other lesser garrisons are come in alsoe. The Lord is wonderful in theise thinges, it's his hand aloane does them; O that all the praise might be ascribed to him. I have beene crazie in my health, but the Lord is pleased to sustaine mee. I begg your prayers. I desire you to call upon my sonn to minde the thinges of God more and more; Alas! what profit is there in the thinges of this world? except they bee enjoyed in Christ, they are snares. I wish he may enjoy his wife soe, and shee him; I wish I may enjoy them both soe. My service to my deere sister, cozen Ann, my blessinge to my children, and love to my cozen Barton and the rest. Sr.

I am,

Your affectionate Brother and servant,

Rosse, Nov. 13th, 1649. O. Cromwell.

(Indorsed, "Recd. 12° Dec. 49.)

3. For my lovinge brother Richard Major, esq. att Hurslye in Hampsheir. Theise.

(This direction is in a female hand.)

Deere Brother,

For mee to write unto you the state of our affaires heere were more then indeed I have leisure well to doe, and therefore I hope you doe not expect itt from me; seeinge when I write to the parl^nt I usually am (as becomes mee) very particular with them, and usually from thence the knowledge thereof is spread. Only this lett mee say, (which is the best intelligence to friendes that are trulye christian) the Lord is pleased still to vouchsafe us his presence, and to prosper his owne worke in our handes, which to us is the more eminent because trulye we are a companie of poore weake and worthlesse creatures. Trulye our worke is neither from our braines, nor from our courage and strength; but wee followe the Lord who goeth before, and gather what hee skattereth, that soe all may appeare to bee from him. The takinge of the cittye of Kilkenny hath beene one of our last workes, which indeed I believe hath beene a grate discomposeinge the enemie, its soe much in their bowells: we have taken many considerable places latelye, without much losse. What can wee say to theise thinges? If God bee for us, whoe can be against us? whoe can fight against the Lord, and prosper? Whoe can resist his will? The Lord keepe us in his love. I desier your prayers, your familye is often in mine: I rejoyced to heere how it hath pleased the Lord to deale with my daughter; the Lord blesse her and sanctifie all his dispensations to them and us: I have committed my sonn to you, I pray councell him. Some letters I have lately had from him have a good savor; the Lord treasure up grace there, that out of that treasurie hee may bringe forth good things. Sr. I desier my very entyer affection may be presented to my deere sister,

my cozen Ann, and the rest of my cozens, and to idle Dick Norton when you see him. Sr. I rest

Your most loving brother,

Ap. y^e 2^d 1650. O. CROMWELL.

Carrick.

(*x*)

Letters from Cromwell, on his way to or after his arrival in Scotland, 1650—1.

1. For my very lovinge brother Richard Major, esq. att his house at Hurslye. Theise.

Deere brother,

The exceedinge croude of businesse I had att London is the best excuse I can make for my silence this way. Indeed Sr. my heart beareth me witnesse, I want noe affection to you or yours; you are all often in my poore prayers. I should be glad to heere how the little bratt doth. I could chide both father and the mother for theire neglects of mee: I knowe my sonn is idle, butt I had better thoughts of Doll; I doubt now her husband hath spoyled her, I pray tell her soe from mee. If I had as good leisure as they, I should write sometimes. If my daughter bee breedinge, I will excuse her, but not for her nurserie, the Lord blesse them. I hope you give my sonn good councell, I believe he needes itt. Hee is in the dangerous time of his age, and its a very vaine world: O how good itt is to close with Christ betimes, there is nothinge else worth the lookinge after. I beseech you call upon him: I hope you will discharge my dutye and your owne love: you see how I am imployed: I neede pittye: I knowe what I feele: great place and businesse in the world is not worth the lookinge after: I should have no comfort in mine, but that my hope is in the Lord's presence. I have not sought theise thinges, truly

I have beene called to them by the Lord; and therefore am not without some good assureance that hee will inable his poore worme, and weake servant, to doe his will, and to fullfill my generation. In this I begg your prayers: desiringe to be lovinglye remembred to my deere sister, to our sonn and daughter, my cozen Ann, and the good familye. I rest

Your affectionate brother,

Alnwick July 17, 1650. O. CROMWELL.

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2. For my lovinge brother Richard Major, esq. at Hurslye. Theise. In Hantsheire neere Winchester.

Deere brother,

Havinge soe good an occasion as the impartinge soe great a mercie as the Lord hath voutchsafed unto us in Scotland, I would not omitt the impartinge thereof to you, though I bee full of businesse. Upon wedensd. wee fought the Scottish armie: They were in number, accordinge to all computation, above twentye thousand, wee hardly eleven thousand, havinge great sicknesses upon our armie: after much apealinge to God, the fight lasted above an hower: wee killed (as most thinke) three thousand, tooke neere ten thousand prisoners, all their traine, about thirtye gunns, great and smale, besides bullet, match, and powder, very considerable officers, about two hundred colors, above ten thousand armes; lost not thirtie men. This is the Lord's doeing, and it is marvelous in our eyes. Good Sr. give God all the glorie, stirr up all yours & all about you to doe soe: pray for your affectionate brother

O. CROMWELL.

I desier my love may bee presented to my deere sister and to all your familie. I pray tell Doll I doe not forget her nor her little bratt; she writes very cuninglye and complemen-

tally to mee; I expect a letter of plaine dealinge from her she is too modest to tell mee whether shee breedes or not. I wish a blessinge upon her and her husband: the Lord make them fruitfull in all that's good: they are att leisure to write often, but indeed they are both idle and worthie of blame.

Dunbarr, Sept. 4th, 1650.

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3. For ye Honoble the Committee for the Army theise.

(The original was formerly in the possession of James Lamb, esq. of Fairford, Gloucestershire.)

Gentl.

It was not a little wonder to me to see that you should send Mr. Symonds so great a journey about a business importinge so little as far as it relates to me; when, as if my poore opinion may not be rejected by you, I have to offer to that wch I thinke the most noble end, to witt the commemoracon of that great mercie att Dunbar, and the gratuitie to the army; wch might better be expressed upon the meddall by engraving as on the one side the parliamt, wch I heare was intended and will do singularly well, so on the other side an army wth this inscription over the head of it—The Lord of Hosts—wch was or word that day: wherefore if I may beg it as a favor from you, I most earnestly beseech you, if I may doe it wthout offence that it may be soe; and if you thinke not fitt to have it as I offer, you may alter it as you see cause; only I doe thinke I may truly say it wil be verie thankfully acknowledged by me, if you will spare the having my effigies in it.

The gentleman's paynes and trouble hither have been verie great; and I shall make it my second suite unto you, that you will please to conferr upon him that imploymt in yor service wch Nicholas Briott had before him: indeed the man is ingenious, and worthie of incouragemt. I may not presume much,

but if at my request and for my sake he may obteyn this favo^{r}, I shall putt it upon the accompt of my obligacons, w^{ch} are not a few, and I hope shal be found readie gratefully to acknowledge and to approve myself,

Gentl.

Yo^{r} most reall servt,

Edinburgh, 4th of Feb. 1650 (1.) O. CROMWELL.

*** The medal spoken of above, engraved by Symons, (who well deserved this patronage,) bore, notwithstanding Cromwell's *modesty* on the occasion, an admirable likeness of him, as appears by comparing it with his portrait by Walker taken about the same time. The legend was permitted to be as he desired.—See "Medals, great seals, impressions, from the elaborate works of Thomas Simon, chief engraver of the mint to King Charles I., to the Commonwealth, the Lord Protector Cromwell, and in the reign of King Charles II., to 1665. By George Vertue." P. 13. 4to, 1753.

The following, (from the Harl. MSS.), though without address, was beyond a doubt intended for the Protectress. It is dated from Edinburgh, 3 May, 1651.

My dearist,

I could not satisfie myselfe to omitt this poast, although I have not much to write; yet indeed I love to write to my deere, whoe is very much in my hart. It joys mee to heere thy soule prospereth; the Lord increase his favours to thee more and more. The great good thy soule can wish is, that the Lord lift upon thee the light of his countenance, which is better than life. The Lord blesse all thy good councell and example to those about thee, and heere all thy prayers, and accept thee alwayes. I am glad to heere thy sonn and daughter ar

with thee. I hope thou wilt have some good opportunitye of good advise to him. Present my duty to my mother, my love to all the familye.

Still pray for thine

O. CROMWELL.

To this section may be added a letter from Mrs. Cromwell to her husband, the only one of hers that has come down to posterity, which is to be found in Milton's State Papers, (by Nickolls, Lond. Fol. 1743.)

Desember the 27th, 1650.

My Dearist,

I wonder you should blame me for writing nowe oftnir, when I have sent thre for one: I canenot but think they ar miscarid. Truly if I knog my one hart, I should ase soune neglect myself ase to the least thought towards you, hoe in douing of it, I must doe it to myself; but when I do writ, my dear, I seldome have any satisfactore answer, which makse me thenk my writing is slited, as well it mae; but I cannot but thenk your love coverse my weaknisis and infirmetis. I should rejoyse to hear your desire in seeing, but I desire to submit to the providens of God, howping the Lord, houe hath separated us, and hath oftune brought us together agane, wil in heis good time breng us agane, to the prasse of his name. Truly my lif is but half a lif in your abseince, deid not the Lord make it up in heimself, which I must acknoleg to the prase of heis grace. I would you would thenk to writ sometims to your deare frend me Lord Chef Justes, of hom I have oftune put you in mind: and truly, my deare, if you would thenk of what I put you in mind of sume, it might be of ase much purpose ase others, writting sumetimes a letter to the President, and sometims to the Speiker. Indeid, my deare, you cannot thenk the rong you doe yourself in the

whant of a letter, though it wer but seldome. I pray think of, and soe rest yours in all faithfulnise.

ELIZABETH CROMWELL.

(y)

Expressions occurring in the epistle following:—

For my esteemed friend Mr. Cotton, pastor to the church at Boston in New England. Theise.

Worthy Sir and my Christian Friend,

I receaved yours a few days sithence; it was welcome to mee, because signed by you, whome I love and honour in the Lord. But more to see some of the same grounds of our actinges stirringe in you, that have in us to quiet us in our worke, and support us therein, which hath had greatest difficultye in our engagement with Scotland, by reason wee have had to doe with some, who were (I verily thinke) godly, but through weaknesse and the subtiltie of Sathan, involved in interest against the Lord, and his people. With what tendernesse wee have proceeded with such, and that in synceritie, our papers (which I suppose you have seen) will in part manifest, and I give you some comfortable * * * * * * assurance off. The Lord hath marvelously appeared even against them. And now againe when all the power was devolved into the Scotish Kinge, and the malignant partie, they invadinge England, the Lord rayned upon them such snares as the enclosed will shew, only the narrative is short in this, that of their whole armie when the narrative was framed, not five of their whole armie returned. Surely Sr. the Lord is greatly to bee feared, as to be praised. Wee need your prayers in this as much as ever: how shall wee behave ourselves after such mercyes? What is the Lord

a doeinge? What prophesies are now fulfillinge? Who is a God like ours? To knowe his will, to doe his will, are both of him.

I tooke this libertye from businesse to salute you thus in a word: truly I am ready to serve you, and the rest of our brethren and the churches with you: I am a poore weake creature, and not worthy the name of a worme, yet accepted to serve the Lord and his people: indeed, my dear friend, between you and mee, you know not not mee; my weaknesses, my inordinate passions, my unskilfulnesse, and every way unfitnesse to my worke; yett, yett, the Lord, who will have mercye on whome hee will, does as you see. Pray for mee: salute all christian friends though unknown. I rest

Your affectionate friend to serve you,

Oct. 2, 1651. O. CROMWELL.

(z)

About this time intelligence arrived from Ireland, of the death of that 'so able and active, so faithful and so near a relation and officer,' to Cromwell, the Lord Deputy Ireton. The royalists of that period have cast many reproaches upon his memory; accusing him of cruelty, blood-thirstiness, and of being (Lord Clarendon says) '*radically* averse to monarchy.' The last mentioned charge alone appears to have been strictly consistent with the truth: and even that will apply only to the latter part of his life; as he has been seen to have conspicuously exerted himself to procure the restitution of Charles, until the monarch's indecision and insincerity (qualities, the former of which Ireton of all men perhaps most despised, and the latter of all men perhaps most hated) disgusted him at once with the King, and with all thoughts of restoring Kingship. Some 'thought his parts lay more towards civil affairs, and

were fitter for the modelling that government which his heart was set upon, being a scholar, (bred at Trinity College, Oxford) conversant in the law, (which he had studied in the Temple) than for the conduct of an army to support it.' Whitelock, however, states him to have been 'stout in the field,' as well as 'wary and prudent in his counsel;' and that he was 'a person very active, industrious, and stiff in his ways and purposes:' while that Cromwell 'had a great opinion of him, and no man could prevail so much, nor order him so much, as Ireton could.' Ludlow relates, that an act which was ordered to be brought in for 'settling two thousand pounds per annum upon the Lord Deputy Ireton, was so unacceptable to him, that he said, they had many just debts, which he desired they would pay before they made any such presents: that he had no need of their land, and therefore would not have it: and that he should be more contented to see them doing the service of the nation, than so liberal in disposing of the public treasure.' There can be no doubt, however, that his inflexible turn of character sometimes led him to the extreme of severity toward any whom he conceived delinquents, either to himself or the public; and particularly toward such as had broken an engagement with him—a fault he could not prevail with himself to forgive. This inflexibility shone forth, in all its terrors in Ireland, as had done the same quality in his father-in-law: and Lord Broghill tells us, that the inhabitants of a certain barony in that country having broken the articles agreed upon between him and them, in virtue of which he had at first afforded them protection, he would have killed every man, woman, and child in that barony, but for his Lordship's interposition in their behalf. Speaking of his death, Ludlow says, that 'some of General Cromwell's relations, who were not ignorant of his vast designs then on foot, caused his body to be transported to England, and solemnly interred at Westminster, in a magnificent monument, at the public charge;

who, if he could have foreseen what was done by them, would certainly have made it his desire that his body might have found a grave where his soul left it, so much did he despise these pompous and expensive vanities; having erected for himself a more glorious monument in the hearts of good men, by his affection to his country, his abilities of mind, his impartial justice, his diligence in the public service, and his other virtues; which were a far greater honour to his memory than a dormitory amongst the ashes of Kings, who, for the most part, as they had governed others by their passions, so were they themselves as much governed by them.' Mrs. Hutchinson gives a quaint anecdote of her husband on occasion of his funeral; in which, though the lady appears to take a little pride in relating it, that good, and in many respects great man appears not to have been entirely superior to a trait of affectation, and to an act of little maliciousness toward Cromwell, for not having been invited to attend:— and in Evelyn's very interesting, though *ultra-loyal* 'Memoirs,' we have the following account of the ceremony:—

March 6. Saw the magnificent funeral of that arch-rebell, Ireton, carried in pomp from Somerset House to Westminster, accompanied with divers regiments of souldiers, horse and foote: then marched the mourners, General Cromwell, (his father-in-law) his *mock*-parliament-men, officers, and 40 poore men in gownes, 3 led horses in housings of black cloth, 2 led in black velvet, and his charging horse all covered over with embroidery and gold on crimson velvet; then the guydons, ensignes, 4 heraulds carrying the armes of the State (*as they called it*), namely, y^e^ red crosse and Ireland, with the casq. wreath, sword, spurs, &c: next a chariot, canopied, of black velvet, and 6 horses, in which was the corps; the pall held up by the mourners on foot; the mace and sword, with other marks of his charge in Ireland, (where he died of y^e^ plague), carried before in black scarfs.

Thus, in a grave pace, drums covered with cloth, souldiers reversing their armes, they proceeded through the streets in a very solemn manner.'—Vol. i. p. 262.

(A A)

Letters of Cromwell's, to which no reference is made in the foregoing pages, but which have a farther tendency to elucidate his character.

1. From Cromwell to his daughter Ireton.

Deere Daughter,

I write not to thy husband, partly to avoid trouble, for one line of mine begitts many of his, w^ch^ I doubt makes him sitt up too late; partly because I am my selfe indisposed att this tyme; havinge some other considerations. Your friends at Ely are well: your sister Clapole is (I trust in mercye) exercised with some perplexed thoughts; shee sees her owne vanitye, and carnal minde, bewailinge itt; shee seekes after (as I hope alsoe) that w^ch^ will satisfie, and thus to be a seeker, is to bee of the best sect next a finder, and such an one shall every faythfull humble seeker bee att the end. Happie seeker, happie finder. Whoe ever tasted that the Lord is gracious, without some sence of self vanitye, and badnesse? Whoe ever tasted that graciousnesse of his, and could goe lesse in desier, and lesse then pressinge after full enjoyment? Deere hart, presse on; lett not husband, lett not any thinge, coole thy affections after Christ. I hope hee wil be an occasion to enflame them. That w^ch^ is best worthy of love in thy husband, is that of the image of Christ hee beares; looke on that, and love it best, and all the rest for that: I pray for thee, and him; doe soe for me. My service and deere affec-

tions to the generall, and generallesse; I heere she is very kind to thee; it adds to all other obligations. My love to all; I am thy deere father,

O. CROMWELL.

Octob. 25, 1646,
London.

Superscribed,

For hys beloved daughter Bridget Ireton, at Cornbury, the Gen^ls quarters, theise.

(The original of the above letter is in the British Museum.)

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2. From Cromwell to Colonel Hacker.

Sr.

I have the best consideration I can for the præsent in this businesse; and although I believe capt. Hubbert is a worthy man, and heere soe much, yett as the case stands, I cannott with satisfaction to my selfe, and some others, revoake the commission I had given to capt. Empson, w^thout offence to them, and reflection upon my owne judgment: I pray lett capt. Hubbert knowe I shall not be unmindefull of him, and that no disrespect is intended to him. But indeed I was not satisfied with your last speech to mee about Empson, that hee was a better prædher than a fighter or souldier, or words to that effect. Truly I thinke hee that prays and preaches best will fight best. I know nothing will give like courage and confidence, as the knowledge of God in Christ will; and I bless God to see any in this armye able and willinge to impart the knowledge they have for the good of others. And I expect itt be encoraged by all cheife officers in this armye especially, and I hope you will do soe. I pray receave capt.

Empson lovinglye; I dare assure you hee is a good man, and a good officer; I would wee had noe worse. I rest

Your lovinge freind;

O. Cromwell.

Dec. 25. 1650.

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3. Without direction, but clearly appearing to have been addressed to Richard Major, Esq.

Deere brother,

I was glad to receave a letter from you, for indeed any thinge that comes from you is very welcome to mee. I beleive your expectation of my sonn's coming is deferred. I wish hee may see a happie deliverye of his wife first, for whom I frequently pray.

I heere my sonn hath exceeded his allowance, and is in debt; truly I cannot comend him therein, wisdom requireinge his livinge within compasse, and calling for it at his handes: and in my judgment, the reputation arising from thence would have been more real honour then what is attained the other way. I believe vain men will speake well of him that does ill. I desier to be understood that I grudge him not laudible recreations, nor an honourable carriage of himselfe in them, nor is any matter of charge like to fall to my share a stick with mee. Truly I can finde in my heart to allow him not only a sufficiency, but more, for his good; but if pleasure and self sattisfaction bee made the businesse of a man's life, soe much cost layd out uppon it, soe much time spent in itt, as rather answers appetite than the will of God, or is comely before his saints, I scruple to feed this humor, and God forbid that his being my sonn should be his allowance to live not pleasinglye to our heavenly Father, whoe hath raised me out of the dust to what I am. I desier your

faithfullnesse (hee being alsoe your concernment as well as mine) to advise him to approve himself to the Lord in his course of life, and to search his statutes for a rule to conscience, and to seeke grace from Christ to enable to walke therein. This hath life in itt, and will come to somewhat; what is a poore creature without this? This will not abridge of lawfull pleasures, but teach such an use of them as will have the peace of a good conscience goinge alonge with itt. Sr. I write what is in my heart; I pray you comunicate my minde herein to my sonn, and be his remembrancer in theise thinges. Truly I love him, hee is deere to me; soe is his wife, and for their sakes doe I thus write. They shall not want comfort nor incoragment from mee, so far as I may afford itt; but indeed I cannot thinke I doe well to feede a voluptuous humor in my sonn, if he should make pleasures the businesse of his life in a time when some precious saincts are bleeding and breathinge out their last for the good and safetye of the rest. Memorable is the speech of Urijah to David 2d Chron. 11th, 11th.

Sr. I beseech you believe I heere say not this to save my purse, for I shall willinglye do what is convenient to satisfie his occasions as I have opportunitye; but as I pray hee may not walke in a course not pleasing to the Lord, so thinke itt lyeth upon me to give him (in love) the best councell I may, and know not how better to conveigh it to him then by soe good a hand as yours.

Sr. I pray you acquaint him with theise thoughts of mine, and remember my love to my daughter, for whose sake I shall be induced to doe any reasonable thinge. I pray for her happie deliverance frequently and earnestly.

I am sorrie to heere my baylye in Hantsheire should doe to my sonn as is intimated by your letter. I assure you I shall not allowe any such thinge. If there bee any suspition of his abuse of the woode, I desier it may be looked after and inquired into, that soe if thinges appear true he may bee

removed; although indeed I must needs say he had the repute of a godly man by diverse that knew him when I placed him there:

Sr. I desier my hartye affection may bee presented to my sister, my cozen Ann, and her husband* though unknown.

I praise the Lord I have obteyned much mercye in respect of my health; the Lord give mee a truly thankfull hart. I desier your prayers, and rest

Your very affectionate brother and servant,

June 28th, 1651. O. CROMWELL.

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4. For my lovinge Brother Richard Major, Esq; at Hursley in Hantsheire. Theise.

Deere Brother,

I receaved your lovinge letter, for which I thanke you; and suerly were itt fitt to proceed in that businesse, you should not in the least have beene putt upon any thinge but the trouble, for indeed the land in Essex, with some monie in my hand, and some other remnants, should have gone towards itt. But indeed I am so unwillinge to bee a seeker after the world, havinge had so much favor from the Lord in givinge me soe much without seekinge, and soe unwillinge that men should think mee soe, which they will though you only appeare in it (for they will by one meanes or other knowe it) that indeed I dare not meddle, nor proceede therein. Thus I have tould you my plain thoughts. My hartye love I present

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* John Dunch, Esq. of Pusey, in Berkshire; where the original of this letter was found and transcribed by Horace Walpole.

to you and my sister, and my blessinge and love to deere Doll and the little one, with love to all. I rest

Your lovinge brother,

OLIVER, P.

May the 4th, 1654.

(This letter was found among those at Pusey, and copied by Horace Walpole.)

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5. Cromwell to his son Henry in Ireland.

(From Thurloe's State Papers.)

Sonne;

I have seen y^r^ letter writt unto Mr. Secretary Thurloe, and doe finde thereby that you are very apprehensive of the carriage of some persons with you, towards yo^r^self and the publique affaires. I doe beleeve there may be some perticular persons, who are not very well pleased w^th^ the present condition of thinges, and may be apt to shew their discontents as they have opportunitie; but this should not make too great impressions in you. Tyme and patience may worke them to a better frame of spirit, and bring them to see that w^ch^ for the present seemes to be hid from them; espetially if they shall see yo^r^ moderation and love towards them, whilst they are found in other ways towards you; which I earnestly desier you to studye and endeavour all that lyes in you, whereof both you and I too shall have the comfort, whatsoever the issue and event thereof be.

For what you write of more help, I have longe endeavoured it, and shall not be wanting to send you some further addition to the councell, as soone as men can be found out who are fitt for y^t^ trust. I am alsoe thinkinge of sendinge over to you a fitt person who may command the North of Ireland, w^ch^ I

believe stands in great need of one, and am of y^r^ opinion that Trev^r^ and Col. Mervin are very dangerous persons, and may be made the heads of a new rebellion; and therefore I would have you move the councell, that they be secured in some very safe place, and the further out of their own countryes the better. I commend you to the Lord, and rest

Your aff^te^ father,

OLIVER, P.

Nov. 21st, 1655.

For my sonne, Henry Cromwell, at Dublyn, Ireland.

(*aa*)

See his Speech made to the second Parliament of the Protectorate, April 21st, 1657; in which he gave a notable example, while describing this assembly, of that confused mode of speaking he would fall into, when descanting upon subjects, that would not really bear the light of the explanation he seemed to be endeavouring to afford them. A single passage, selected at random from the speech alluded to, will more than suffice, as an instance for the present volume of this oratorical darkness visible.—'It was thought then (he said) that men of our judgment, that had fought in the wars, and were all of a piece on that account, why surely these men will hit it, and these men will do it to the purpose whatever can be desired; truly we did think, and I did think so, the more to blame of, and such a company of men were chose, and did proceed in action, and truly this was the naked truth, that the issue was not answerable to the simplicity and honesty of the design: what the issue of that meeting would have been, and was feared, upon which the sober men of that meeting did withdraw, and came and returned my power, as far as they could, they did actually, the greater part of them, into my own hands,' &c. &c.

(*bb*)

The First Inauguration of Cromwell in the Protectorate, December 16, 1653.

(From Heath's Brief Chronicle.)

" The Protector, about one of the clock in the afternoon, came from Whitehall to Westminster, to the Chancery Court, attended by the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal of England, Barons of the Exchequer, and Judges, in their robes; after them the Council of the Commonwealth, and the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Recorder of the City of London, in their scarlet gowns; then came the Protector, attended with many of the chief officers of the army. A chair of state being set in the said Court of Chancery, the Protector stood on the left hand thereof uncovered, till a large writing in parchment (in the manner of an oath) was read; there being the power with which the Protector was invested, and how the Protector is to govern the three nations; which the Protector accepted of, and subscribed in the face of the court, and immediately hereupon sat down covered in the chair. The Lords Commissioners then delivered up the Great Seal of England to the Protector, and the Lord Mayor his sword and cap of maintenance, all which the Protector returned immediately to them again. The Court then rose; and the Protector was attended back as aforesaid, to the Banquetting-House in Whitehall, the Lord Mayor, himself uncovered, carrying the sword before the Protector all the way: and coming into the banquetting-house, an exhortation was made by Mr. Lockyer; after which the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Judges, departed.

" The instrument or model framed to be the foundation of this present government, was chiefly made up of these following heads:

" 1. The Protector should call a parliament every three

years. 2. That the first should assemble on the third of September, 1654. 3. That he would not dissolve the parliament till it had sat five months. 4. That such bills as they offered to him, he not passing them in twenty days, should pass without him. 5. That he should have a select council, not exceeding one-and-twenty, nor under thirteen. 6. That immediately after his death, the council should choose another Protector before they rose. 7. That no Protector after him should be general of the army. 8. That the Protector should have power to make peace or war. 9. That in the intervals of parlement, he and his council might make laws that should be binding to the subject, &c. with some other popular lurdes, and common incidences of government, not worth the recital, which were confirmed and strenuously validated by this his oath:

"I promise in the presence of God, not to violate or infringe the matters and things contained in the instrument, but to observe, and cause the same to be observed; and in all things, to the best of my understanding, govern the nations according to the laws, statutes and customs; to seek their peace, and cause justice and law to be equally administered."

(*cc*)

The deference paid to the Protector by France, increased during his whole reign. In a letter, dated 'Whitehall, June 8th, 1658,' from Lord Fauconberg, Cromwell's son-in-law, to Henry Cromwell, his lordship says:—"I am now returned from the French court, where I have had the honourablest reception imaginable. The King did not only keepe bare at my publique audiences, but, when I made him a private visit, he talked with me in the garden an hour or two uncovered. From the Cardinal," (of whom it was commonly said

in France, that 'he was less afraid of the *devil* than of *Cromwell*'), "the honours I had were particular and unusual: he waved the state of a publique audience, came out of his own room to meet me, led me presently into his cabinet; after an hour's discourse in private, he conducted me downe to the very door, where my coach stood, a ceremony he dispenses with not only to all others, but even to the King himself. The charge of two very handsome tables were defrayed (for myself and followers) by the King, all the while I stayed. In summe, through all their actions, not the least circumstance was omitted, that might witness the truth of those respects they beare his Highnesse and the English nation."—(Thurloe.)

(*dd*)

The receipts and expenditure for a year, at a later period, when all his pecuniary demands were greatly *increased*, are thus stated by Thurloe:—

	£.	s.	d.
The charge at sea - - - - -	994,500	0	0
The charge of the army in the three kingdoms - - - - - -	1,132,489	0	0
The government . - - - -	200,000	0	0
Sum is	2,326,989	0	0

The present revenue.

The assessment in England, Scotland, and Ireland - - - - -	1,464,000	4	0
The excise and customs, estimated at	700,000	0	0
The other revenue, payable into the receipt, estimated at - - -	198,000	0	0
Sum is	2,362,000	4	0

The year given ends November 1st, 1657. Comparing these sums with the receipt and expenditure of the nation in our own times, and making all possible allowance for the difference in the value of money, and the necessary alteration in the magnitude of our warlike armaments, the greatest economy must still be proved, by this document, to have pervaded every part of the administration of Cromwell.

(*ee*)

Notwithstanding the astonishing strides which liberality of sentiment has recently taken, there are still many whom it is necessary to remind (would also they could be convinced) that neither Catholicism nor Protestantism were in those days what they are now. If the blinded devotees of the former were incited by the rapid progress of the reformed religion to acts of satanic zeal and revenge, which the temporal princes of some countries where it was professed were ready, from motives any thing but religious, to support, when priestcraft made it apparent to them that they thereby supported the cause and principles of their despotic sway,—the Protestant *bigots*, (for undoubtedly they generally were such), in the first fervours of their new-born faith, were by far too apt, where they possessed the power, to treat their Catholic fellow-christians as though they were a race of men distinct, inferior to, and in every respect to be degraded beneath themselves. But the excesses of the Catholics, *at that time*, it will be admitted, so far *outwent* those of their religious rivals, and were withal conceived so much in the spirit of ignorance as to the natural rights of men, and of oppression in all temporal government, as greatly to excuse the efforts of the Protestants to bind their hands, and, if possible, from a due regard to the civil and religious liberties they had themselves so hardly won,

to 'keep them undermost.' But Cromwell, in all things greater than his contemporaries, was even *above* this policy: he was for allowing equal rights to all men, without regard to differences of faith; and *therefore*, while he practically adopted this principle from the moment of his assuming the reins of government, upon all possible opportunities, in regard to his Catholic subjects at home, he constantly interfered to become the PROTECTOR of the Protestants throughout Europe, whenever they underwent persecution from the civil powers. Several instances of such his liberal conduct occurred in the course of his reign. It may be sufficient to mention the case of the *Vaudois*, (or Waldenses), a people, of whom Dr. Harris says, that 'long before Luther's time, (perhaps from the first ages of Christianity), they had entertained opinions contrary to those of the church of Rome;' and who, in 1655, were cruelly maltreated, for their religion's sake, by the Duke of Savoy. On this occasion, Cromwell not only effectually interposed in their behalf, by threatening their enemies with the whole terrors of his power; but ordered a collection to be made for them throughout the kingdom, which produced the sum of 38,097*l.* and upwards, of which 2000*l.* were from his own private purse.

To recur to his tolerant treatment of the Catholics—Who shall say, that if his policy in this respect had been persevered in, the Catholic portion of the empire would not have been at this day equally peaceful and well-ordered with the rest? The *Presbyterian* portion, in the seventeenth century, was certainly not less bigoted and intolerant, nor (except when in power) less discontented, than the Catholic: but Presbyterianism has not since been *persecuted;* and its members are now as greatly distinguished for the mild, liberal, and beneficent spirit of their religious opinions, and the propriety of their general conduct, as the Catholics (the great majority, in the sister-island at least), are by a too sad and striking contrast.

(ff)

Cromwell's continued patronage of Milton, who so highly, and, in many respects, so justly panegyrised him, has been already mentioned. Besides whom, if we follow him through his Protectorate, the names of Marvel, Morland, Nat. Bacon, Dr. John Pell, (the eminent linguist of his day), Sir William Petty, (who took by his orders the celebrated *Down Survey* of Ireland), with many more, will attest his munificent encouragement of the literati, and of any who by extraordinary talent had distinguished themselves. Dr. Harris very properly records, that 'when the great design was on foot of publishing the *Polyglott*, by Dr. Walton, the Protector permitted the paper to be imported duty free. And it is a fact, attested by his very enemies, that he hindered the sale of Archbishop Usher's valuable library of prints and manuscripts, to foreigners, and caused it to be purchased, and sent over to Dublin, with an intention to bestow it on a new college, or hall, which he had purposed to build and endow there.'—He at one period also seriously contemplated the design of erecting a college, to serve as a *third university*, for the use of the Northern counties, at Durham.

(gg)

About the time now under consideration, he, 'at his own charge, bestowed on the public library there, (at Oxford) twenty-five ancient manuscripts; ten of which were in folio, and fourteen in quarto, all in Greek, except two or three. He moreover ordered to a private divinity reader there (newly chosen to that place) an annuity of one hundred pounds per annum, out of the exchequer, for the said reader's encouragement.'—*Mercurius Politicus*, No. 223, p. 3773.

(*hh*)

To Cromwell's discernment the nation owed the elevation of the celebrated Sir Matthew Hale; whom he made a judge in the Common Pleas, notwithstanding he 'was known to have different principles' (see Burnet's Life) from his own, in regard to the claims of the exiled monarch. And, in his 'History of His Own Times,' Burnet relates, that 'he (Cromwell) studied to seek out able and honest men, and to employ them. And so, having heard that my father had a very great reputation in Scotland for piety and integrity, *tho' he knew him to be a Royalist*, he sent to him, desiring him to accept of a judge's place, and to do justice in his own country; hoping only that he would not act *against* his government, *but he would not press him to subscribe or swear to it.*'—A policy, so great and enlightened as this, allowing it to have been mere policy, is such as ever bequeaths to the nation it is so calculated to benefit, a debt, which in Cromwell's instance has been strangely paid, through all succeeding generations, by ungenerous abuse, and the endless retailing of malignant falsehoods as to essentials in his conduct and character.

(*ii*)

Upon these two political principles rests the truly *legitimate* claim of the present Royal Family of Great Britain to its throne: were they not now established by reason, they would be by *precedent*. The first may be said to have long settled into a principle of common law, through the various acts, in which the sovereign united with the two houses in altering and limiting the succession to the crown, as in the reigns of Henry IV., Henry VII., Henry VIII., and Queens Mary

and Elizabeth. The second was put into practice at the Revolution of 1688; which memorable event is so emphatically stated by Blackstone to have been 'not a defeazance of the right of succession, and a new limitation of the crown, by the king and both houses of parliament,' but an '*act of the nation alone.*' And the Act of Settlement, by which the crown became vested in the reigning House of Brunswick, is readily seen to have been a proceed from the previous practice of both these principles. It may therefore be considered as established, that the three estates of Parliament, King, Lords, and Commons, conjointly, can limit and alter the regal succession, and *modify* the constitution of the country, to an indefinite extent; (and there can be no reason to apprehend, so long as the three estates equally maintain the balance of check upon each other, that this joint power will be exerted otherwise than for the general benefit): while that the nation alone, in its collective capacity, can *remove* or *destroy*, though but temporarily, and with intent by substitution or otherwise to repair, a constituent, vital part of the constitution, such as the king or either house of parliament—and that only upon the clearest proof, manifest to the people at large, that such constituent part has inverted the ends for which it was constituted and set up. It appears however an unnecessary refinement upon the last position, to consider, even though with Blackstone, that the king's inverting the ends of his sovereignty will not of itself, without the farther overt act of *leaving the kingdom*, (as in James II.'s case), occasion a *vacancy* of the throne, so as to place the people in a lawful attitude to refill it as they shall judge proper. Nay, (in humility be it asked), was it not unjust in the Lords and Commons, the spokesmen for the people at the Revolution, to charge upon James that departure from the kingdom, which they by their own resistance had occasioned, as one of the causes for their declaring the throne vacant? The Scotch Estates of the same period 'found and declared,' not more

boldly than more truly, (as the author thinks), that the king by his tyranny 'had *forefaulted* (forfeited) the crown;' and that the throne was *therefore*, and so of course without the additional circumstance of his having withdrawn from the kingdom, 'become vacant.' In the sense of the Scotch Estates, and in reason, the throne may be rendered thus vacant by tyranny, though the tyrant should, in the plenitude of his power, be still in undisturbed possession of it; and the people must have an equal right to displace him, as they have to declare his abdication after their own previous measures have obliged him to quit the royal seat. Still, with the gratitude of all posterity be it acknowledged, that since the Revolution of 1688 was conducted almost literally without confusion or violence, and conduced to all the ends for which it was designed, and both without a single immediate or future ill consequence to the people at large, we can scarcely conceive of a mutation in government, taken altogether, more perfect: and weare bound to respect even that portion of weakness in the language of its authors, without the timely escape of which it is possible that, in the then actual circumstances, its termination, and by consequence its still existing results, might not have been so happy.

(kk)

Notwithstanding these uncommon civilities, however, on the part of Cromwell, the Swedish resident complained much of the delays, to which the cautious slowness of the Protector in all matters merely deliberative had subjected him. He observed also, that 'when he desired to have the articles of the treaty put into Latin, according to custom, they made him wait fourteen days for the translation; and sent it to *one Mr. Milton, a blind man*, to put them into Latin, who must

use an amanuensis to read it to him:' adding, 'it seemed strange to him, there should be none but a blind man capable of putting a few articles into Latin.' It seems, 'the employment of *Mr. Milton* was excused to him, because several other servants of the Council, fit for that employment, were absent.'—Milton is so little spoken of by his contemporaries, that these passages may be deemed curious, as they relate to the immortal poet: together with Thurloe's notice of him as '*a blind old man, who wrote Latin letters;*' and the abusive Heath's, as '*one Milton*, since stricken with blindness, who wrote against Salmasius, and composed an infamous and blasphemous book called Iconoclastes.'

(*ll*)

Yet to Cromwell's settlement of Scotland, it may be safely affirmed, that nation owes the dawn of those civil blessings which are the sources of her present prosperity. Until his genius secured the conquest of that country which his arms had obtained, the feudal power of the Scottish nobles was never really broken. He alone was found able to subdue their pride, and their peculiar habits, destructive of a people's growth in civilization and commercial greatness;—a task the monarchs of Scotland had tried in vain to accomplish: and he first, from the original peopling of the country it might be said, subdued the bold and hardy Highlanders, reducing them, equally with the other inhabitants, to his common sway;—which neither had any Scottish king ever been able to achieve.

Ireland, it will be admitted, however, reaped but few advantages from the Protectorate; and indeed was so unhappily circumstanced, that only a long *succession* of such governors as Cromwell gave her in his great and amiable son Henry, (whom he appointed Lord-Deputy), could be expected to

work her effectual good. For her, revolutions performed their direst horrors, and brought no blessings in their melancholy train. As an able statistical writer has observed—'The civil war of England and of Scotland, between the King and his Parliaments, produced the very best effects (to those countries.) England succeeded in diffusing the principles of freedom, which ripened into such precious fruits at the Revolution (of 1688); while Scotland, for the first time since her history began to run, was taught to know, across the humiliation of her turbulent aristocracy, the blessings of peaceful government under the vigorous sway of Cromwell. But in Ireland, the tumult was all *direct, unmitigated evil.*'

(*mm*)

Some extracts from the official letters of one or two of these men, addressed to Secretary Thurloe, or the Protector, will perhaps give the clearest view of their actions, in prosecution of the instructions given them.—From Major general Worseley, to Thurloe, dated 'Stafford, Dec. 8, 1655.—Yesterday we had a meeting in this town; and I have made a good progress in our business. We have assessed divers, and the rest must expect it with all speed. I hope we shall pay our county troope out of what we have done already, and provide you a considerable sum for other uses. We have sent out warrants to give notice to the whole country, and our day of meeting, when we shall sit upon the ordinance for ejecting of scandalous ministers. We have disarmed the disaffected in this county.'—From General Desbrowe to the Protector, dated 'Sarum, Dec. 18, 1655.—Yesterday we proceeded upon taxing seven or eight of this county, amongst whom was Sir James Thynn, who was at first a little averse,

but at last, having no refuge, was constrained to comply; and I think of those eight, which we have already dealt withall, the sum will amount to 6 or 700*l.* per annum. There are four more to appear this morning; and I then intend for Blandford, to attend the Dorsetshire gentlemen; and so to Marlborough, where there are twenty more to be summoned.'—From the same to the same, dated 'Wells, Jan. 7, 1656.—I had not tyme by my last to give your Highness an account of all my proceeds; therefore, shall take the boldness at present to acquaint your Highnesse, that at Bristol intimation was given me by some honest people, that sundry of the aldermen and justices were enemies to the publique interest, retayninge their old malignant principles, discountenancinge the godly, and upholding the loose and prophane, which indeed is a disease predominatinge in most corporations. Now I judged it my duty to declare against such, wheresoever I find them, but resolved to do it with as little noyse as I could; and, in order thereunto, I made my repair to Mr. Mayor, and acquainted him, that such and such of his bretherene I understood were soe and soe; and desired him from me to advise them tacitly to resigne, otherwise I should be necessitated to make them publique examples. Whereupon Mr. Mayor engaged to deale faithfully with them, and, as I understand they have taken my advice, which will make way for honester men.'—From Major-general Haynes to Thurloe, dated 'Bury, August 15, 1655.—I am going into Norfolke to-morrow, where we shall make the most use of it (a letter from the Protector); and I hope it will quicken them in their endeavours upon the *election-day* at hand, in which they have been much discouraged by the potency of the adverse party. Yett all the strength can be gott, is endeavoured to crowd in my Lord-deputy (Fleetwood) amongst them, that the honest people may have some one in Parliament to address themselves to. I am doing my most

to *avoid* the election of John Hubbert, of Norwich, and Mr. Ph. Woodhouse, against whom you have something already by you from Major Harvey, which, it is hoped, if they should carry it here, will not pass with you,' &c. &c.

(*nn*)

An equal commonwealth, that is to say, a community not without political degrees among its members, but in which there exists not a distinct executive head—in other words a *pure republic*—is adapted only to a society of men as theoretical as itself; but *constitutional monarchy* is adapted to human nature as it is. Sovereign power, it is true, (the instances to the contrary being only exceptions to a general rule,) is always, and only naturally, aiming at its own extension. But, in checking that propensity in the sovereign by constitutional institutions, not only is the end proposed (if the vitality of those institutions remain unimpaired) effectually obtained; but the people are preserved from the distractions incident to overweening ambition, inordinate pretension, and factious equality, among themselves. Constitutional monarchy, therefore, while it secures all the benefits that could result from the (ideally) best administered pure republic, secures also from its dangers: it provides not only for the happiness, but against the *weaknesses*, of all its members, from the sovereign to the lowest subject: but a pure republic, on the contrary, provides only for a race of beings both more happy and more perfect than mankind ever were, or, until their natures are altered, can be. It may be added, that if our definition of a pure republic be correct, ' a community of men without a distinct executive head,' it is apparent that the most famous republics of history have not been such in the strict sense of the term. There has been ' something monar-

chical in their *executive* power,' as M. Talleyrand observed of the United States of America: and whether this principle of monarchy has been unitive, or divided between two or more persons—has been found under the garb of a Consul, a Doge, or a President—it is probable that to its existence chiefly must be ascribed the practical benefits which such republics have been enabled to retain for the people's use, and that to its existence we should in great measure look for the sources of their splendour and solidity.

(oo)

It may be worthy observation, that the designation of baron was, apparently, even up to this period, applied far more generally than to such as were barons by ancient tenure, by writ, or patent, i. e. *peers*. For Whitelock relates, when speaking of a question put to him by the Queen of Sweden, while he was resident at her court, as to 'what family' Cromwell and his wife were of, that he replied: 'He was of the family of a *baron*, and his wife the like from the Bourchiers.'

(pp)

Even prior to his assumption of the Protectorship, the CITY had distinguished itself for its *loyal* affection toward Cromwell, and its evident consideration of him in the light of a sovereign. Of this, the following fact affords an example:—

"On Tuesday last, (May 17th, 1653,) about the Exchange time, a gentleman well accoutred comes hither in a coach, and brings with him the LORD GENERAL'S *Picture*, which he fixed upon one of the pillars thereof. Which done,

he walks two or three turns there, takes his coach, and returns. After the Exchange time was over, it was pulled down, and brought to the Lord Mayor of this citie, who, that afternoon, carried it to Whitehall to the LORD GENERAL himself. Over the picture was written,

'TIS I.

And under it these verses :—

Ascend three thrones, GREAT CAPTAIN and divine,
By th' will of God, O LYON !* for they're Thine.
Come, priest of God, bring oyl; bring robes; bring gold;
Bring crowns and sceptres. 'Tis high time t' unfold
Your cloystered bagges, ye State-Cheats, lest the rod
Of steel and iron of this your KING and GOD
Pay you in's wrath, with interest.—Kneel and pray
T' OLIVER, our torch of Sion, star of day.
Shout then ye Merchants, City, Gentry, sing,
And all bareheaded cry—GOD SAVE THE KING !"

Dr. Nalson's MS. Collections.

(qq)

Lambert was an artful and ambitious man, who appears to have been led by his popularity in the Army to look upon himself as the natural successor of Cromwell in the Protectorate. As a leader of the military factions, he more than once made himself formidable to his superior: but neither he, Fleetwood, Desborough, nor the officers in general, were ever able to become so, except as they were the organs of a larger body of the soldiery than Cromwell thought it safe to oppose. Take, for instance, the following curious relation of Mrs. Hutchinson.—" Once, when *seven score* officers had

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* Alluding to the *Crest* of the Protectoral Cromwell Family—a *Lion Rampant.*

combined to crosse him (Cromwell) in something he was pursuing, and engaged one to another, LAMBERT being the chief, with solemn promises and invocations to God, the Protector, hearing of it, overawed them all, and told them 'it was not they who upheld him, but he them,' and rated them, and made them understand what pitifull fellows they were: whereupon they all, *like rated dogs, clapped their tayles between their leggs*, and begged his pardon, and left Lambert to fall alone:" &c.—It was the petition of a much smaller number of the officers, that had power to deter Cromwell from accepting the grand object of his hopes, the title of King: but then these officers, he was convinced, spoke the general sentiments of the Army.

Mrs. H. afterward narrates a plot of the 'Lambertonians' against the life of the Protector, and to 'set up Lambert,' which, she says was discovered to Cromwell 'when neere the execution,' by her husband the Colonel's means; but this in a manner for the Colonel not to be 'the author of any man's punishment.'—Perhaps it was owing to the Protector's opportune discovery of some plot in which Lambert was concerned, that the latter, feeling himself for the moment more particularly in Cromwell's power, 'stood at distance, gave over his opposition, and let things take their course,' until the arrival of a more favourable season. Both prudence, and natural tenderness, sometimes induced the Protector to pass by the designs against him of those with whom he was intimately connected: and the world may never know how numerous were these practices of his rebellious relatives and friends.

(*rr*)

Cromwell's Second Inauguration, June 20, 1657.

(From Heath's Brief Chronicle.)

"There remained only the solemnity of the inauguration,

or investiture, which being agreed upon by the committee and the Protector, was by the parlement appointed to be performed in Westminster Hall; where, at the upper end thereof, there was an ascent raised, where a chair and canopy of state was set, and a table with another chair for the speaker, with seats built scaffold-wise for the parliament on both sides: and places below for the Aldermen of London and the like: all which being in readiness, the Protector came out of a room adjoining to the lords house, and in this order proceeded into the hall. First went his gentlemen; then a herald; next the Aldermen; another herald; the Attorney-General; then the Judges, (of whom Sergeant Hill was one, being made a Baron of the Exchequer June 16); then Norroy; the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury; and the seal carried by Commissioner Fiennes; then the garter; and after him the Earl of Warwick with the sword, borne before the Protector bare-headed; the Lord Mayor, Tichborn, carrying the city sword (by the special coaks of the Protector) by his left hand. Being seated in his chair, on the left hand whereof stood the said Tichborn and the Dutch Ambassador; the French Ambassador and the Earl of Warwick on the right; next behind him stood his sons Richard, Fleetwood, Claypoole, and the Privy Council; upon a lower descent stood the Lord Viscount Lisle, Lords Montague and Whitlock, with drawn swords.

"Then the Speaker, (Sir Thomas Widdrington), in the name of the parlement, presented to him a robe of purple velvet, a bible, a sword, and a sceptre (all which were precious tokens of the parlement's favour): at the delivery of these things, the Speaker made a short comment upon them to the Protector, which he divided into four parts, as followeth:

"1. The robe of purple—this is an emblem of magistracy, and imports righteousness and justice; when you have put on this vestment, I may say you are a gown-man. This robe is

of a mixed colour, to shew the mixture of justice and mercy. Indeed, a magistrate must have two hands, *plectentem et amplectentem*, to cherish and to punish.

"2. The Bible is a book that contains the holy scriptures, in which you have the happiness to be well versed. This book of life consists of two testaments, the old and the new: the first shews *Christum velatum*, the second *Christum revelatum*, Christ vailed and revailed: it is a book of books, and doth contain both precepts and examples for good government.

"3. Here is a sceptre, not unlike a staff: for you are to be staff to the weak and poor: it is of ancient use in this kind. It is said in scripture, that the sceptre shall not depart from Judah. It was of the like use in other kingdoms; Homer the Greek poet calls kings and princes sceptre-bearers.

"4. The last thing is a sword; not a military, but a civil sword; it is rather a sword of defence than offence: not to defend yourself only, but your people also. If I might presume to fix a motto upon this sword, as the valiant Lord Talbot had upon his, it should be this, *Ego sum domini protectoris, ad protegendum populum meum*,—I am the Protector, to protect my people.

"This speech being ended, the speaker took the Bible and gave the Protector his oath; afterwards Master Manton made a prayer, wherein he recommended the Protector, parlement, council, the forces by land and sea, government, and people of the three nations, to the protection of God. Which being ended, the heralds, by sound of trumpet, proclaimed his Highness Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, requiring all persons to yield him due obedience. At the end of all, the protector, with his train carried up by the Lord Sherrard, Warwick's nephew, and the Lord Roberts, his eldest son, returned in the same posture; the Earl of Warwick sitting at one end of the coach against him; Richard his son, and Whitelock in one, and Lord Lisle and Montague in the other boot, with swords

drawn; and the Lord Claypoole, Mr. of the horse, led the horse of honour in rich caparisons to Whitehall. The members to the parlement house, where they prorogued their sitting to the Twentieth of January."

On the same day, the following PROCLAMATION was issued by 'His Highness and the Parliament:'—

"Whereas the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of the Parliament of England, Scotland, and Ireland, taking into their consideration the duty incumbent upon them to provide for the future peace and settlement of the government of these Nations, according to the laws and customes of the same, by their humble petition and Advice, have presented their desires unto his Highness OLIVER, Lord Protector, that he would, by and under the name and stile of LORD PROTECTOR of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging, hold and exercise the office of Chief Magistrate of these Nations: whereunto the Lord Protector, upon due and mature consideration of the said Petition and Advice, hath consented: and his Highness the Lord Protector, and the Parliament, judging it necessary that publication be made of the Premises, have thought meet, and do hereby strictly charge and command all and every Person and Persons, of what quality and condition soever, in any of the said three Nations, to take notice of the Premises, and to conform and submit themselves unto the government so established. And the Lord Mayor of the City of London, and all Sheriffs, Mayors, Bailiffs, and other publique Ministers and Officers, whom this may concern, are required to cause this Proclamation, together with the said Petition and Advice, to be forthwith published in the City of London, and the respective counties, cities, corporations, and market-towns, to the end that none may have cause to pretend ignorance in this behalf.——Given at Westminster the 26 day of June, 1657."

(*ss*)

Lord Clarendon, describing the actions of Blake against the Spaniards, justly notices that he was the first who, in naval affairs, declined the old track, and made it manifest that the science might be attained in less time than had been imagined. 'Despising those rules which had been long in practice, to keep his ships and men out of danger, as if the principal art requisite in a naval captain had been to be sure to come safe home again, he was the first who brought ships to contemn castles on shore, which had ever before been thought very formidable, and taught his men to fight in fire as well as upon water': and, adds his Lordship, 'though he has been very well imitated and followed, he was the first that gave the example of that kind of naval courage, and bold and resolute achievements.' On the return of Charles II. the body of this distinguished naval hero was removed from the Abbey, and (by his Majesty's command) thrown, with many others, into *a pit* in St. Margaret's church-yard: where, said Wood, (Fasti) 'it now remaineth, enjoying no other monument but what is reared by his valour, which time itself can hardly deface.'—'Such (observes a later writer) were the *politeness* and *humanity* introduced by the Restoration!'

(*tt*)

Bishop Burnet says, Tillotson (who married Cromwell's niece, and afterward became Bishop Tillotson), told him, that "a week after Cromwell's death, he being by accident at Whitehall, and hearing that there was to be a fast that day in the household, he, out of curiosity, went into the presence chamber where it was held. On the one side of a table, Richard, with the rest of Cromwell's family, were placed; and six of

the preachers were on the other side, of whom Goodwin was one. There he heard a good deal of strange stuff, enough to disgust a man for ever of that enthusiastic boldness. God was, as it were, reproached with Cromwell's services, and challenged for taking him away so soon. Goodwin, who had pretended to assure them, in a prayer, that he was not to die, which was but a very few minutes before he expired, had now the impudence" (the blasphemy more properly) "to say to God, 'Thou hast deceived us, and we were deceived!'"—(Hist. vol. I., p. 82.)

(uu)

FUNERAL OF THE PROTECTOR.

(From Carrington's History of his Life and Death.)

"The corpse of his late Highness having been embalmed, and wrapped up in a sheet of lead, was, on the six-and-twentieth of September, about ten of the clock at night, privately removed from Whitehall to Somerset House, being only attended by his own domestic officers and servants, as the Lord Chamberlain and Comptroller of the Household, the gentlemen of the life guard, the guard of halberdiers, and divers other officers and servants: the two heralds of arms went next before the corpse, which was placed in a morning-hearse, drawn by six horses; in which manner it was carried to Somerset House, where it remained for some days in private, until things were in a readiness to expose it in state to a public view, which was performed with the following order and solemnity.

"The first room at Somerset House, where the spectators entered, was formerly the presence chamber, compleatly hung with black; at the upper end whereof was placed a cloth of state, with a chair of state under the same.

" The second large room was formerly the privy chamber, hung with black, with a cloth and chair of state under the same.

" The third room was formerly the withdrawing room hung with black cloth, and had a cloth and chair of state in it as the former: all which three large rooms were compleatly furnished with scutcheons of his highness's arms, crowned with the imperial crown: and at the head of each cloth of state, was fixed a large majestic scutcheon, fairly painted and gilt upon taffity.

" The fourth room, where both the corpse and the effigies did lie, was compleatly hung with black velvet, and the roof was ceiled with velvet, and a large canopy or cloth of state, of black velvet, fringed, was plated over the effigies, made to the life in wax. The effigies itself being apparalled in a rich suit of uncut velvet, robed in a little robe of purple velvet, laced with a rich gold lace, and furred with ermins; upon the kirtle was the royal large robe, of the like purple velvet, laced and furred with ermins, with rich strings and tassels of gold; the kirtle being girt with a rich embroidered belt, wherein was a fair sword, richly gilt and hatched with gold, hanging by the side of the effigies. In the right hand was the golden sceptre, representing government; in the left hand the globe, denoting principality; upon the head a purple velvet cap, furred with ermins, signifying regality: behind the head there was placed a rich chair of state, of tissued gold, and upon the cushion, which lay thereon, was placed an imperial crown, set with precious stones. The body of the effigies lay upon a bed of state, covered with a large pall of black velvet, under which there was spread a fine Holland sheet, upon six stools of tissued cloth of gold: on the sides of the bed of state was placed a rich suit of compleat armour, representing his late highness's command as general: at the feet of the effigies stood his crest, according to the custom of ancient monuments.

"The bed of state, whereupon the effigies did thus lie, was ascended unto by two steps, covered with the aforesaid pall of velvet, the whole work being compassed about with rails and ballasters covered with velvet; at each corner whereof there was placed an upright pillar, covered with velvet, upon the tops whereof were the four supporters of the imperial arms, bearing banners, or streamers, crowned. The pillars were adorned with trophies of military honour, carved and gilt; the pedestalls of the pillars had shields and crowns, gilt, which compleated the whole work. Within the rails and ballasters stood eight great silver candlesticks, or standarts, almost five foot high, with virgin wax tapers of three foot long: next unto the candlesticks there were set upright, in sockets, the four great standards of his highness's arms, the guydons, great banners, and banrolls of war, being all of taffity, very richly gilt and painted. The cloth of state, which covered the bed of state, and the effigies, had a majestic scutcheon, and the whole room was fully and compleatly adorned with taffity scutcheons: several of his late highness's gentlemen attending bareheaded, round about the bed of state, in mourning; and other of his highness's servants waiting in the other rooms, to give directions to the spectators, and to prevent disorders.

"After which, his late highness's effigies was several days shown in another room, standing upon an ascent, under a rich cloth of state, vested in royal robes, having a sceptre in one hand, and a globe in the other, a crown on his head, his armour lying by him, at a distance, and the banners, banrolls, and standards, being placed round about him, together with the other ensigns of honour. The whole room, which was spacious, being adorned in a majestical manner, and several of his late highness's gentlemen attending about the effigies, bareheaded; in which manner the effigies continued until the solemnization of the funerals.

"On the three-and-twentieth day of November, in the

morning, the time appointed for the solemnization of the funerals of his late highness, the several persons of honour and quality, which were invited to attend the interment, being come to Somerset-house, and all things being in readiness to proceed, the effigies of his late highness standing under a rich cloath of state, in the manner afore specified, was first shown to the company, and afterwards removed and placed on a hearse, richly adorned, and set forth with scutcheons, and other ornaments; the effigies itself being vested in royal robes, a sceptre in one hand, a globe in the other, and a crown on the head. After it had been a while thus placed in the middle of a room, it was carried on the hearse, by ten of his late highness's gentlemen, into the court-yard, where a very rich canopy of state was borne over it by six other of his late highness's gentlemen, till it was brought and placed on the chariot, at each end whereof was a seat, wherein sat two of his late highness's gentlemen of the bed-chamber, the one at the head and the other at the feet of the effigies. The pall, which was made of velvet and white linen, was very large, extending on each side of the carriage, and was borne up by several persons of honour thereunto appointed. The chariot wherein the effigies was conveyed, was covered with black velvet, adorned with plumes and scutcheons, and was drawn by six horses, covered with black velvet, and each of them adorned with black plumes of feathers.

"From Somerset-house to Westminster the streets were railed in, and strawed with sand, the soldiers being placed on each side of the streets, without the rails, and their ensigns wrapped up in a cypress mourning veil.

"The manner of proceeding to the interment was briefly this:

"First, a knight-marshall advanced on horseback, with his black truncheon, tipt at both ends with gold, attended by his deputy, and thirteen men on horseback, to clear the way.

"After him followed the poor men of Westminster, in mourning gowns and hoods, marching two and two.

"Next unto them followed the servants of the several persons of all qualities, which attended the funeral.

"These were followed by all his late highness's servants, as well inferior as superior, both within and without the household, as also all his highness's bargemen and watermen.

"Next unto these followed the servants and officers belonging to the lord-mayor and sheriffs of the city of London.

"Then came several gentlemen and attendants on the respective ambassadors, and the other public ministers.

"After these came the poor knights of Windsor, in gowns and hoods.

"Then followed the clerks, secretaries, and other officers, belonging to the army, the admiralty, the treasury, the navy, and the exchequer.

"After these came the officers in command in the fleet, as also the officers of the army.

"Next followed the commissioners for excise, those of the army, and the committee of the navy.

"Then followed the commissioners for the approbation of preachers.

"Then came the officers, messengers, and clerks belonging to the privy-council, and the clerks of both houses of parliament.

"Next followed his late highness's physicians.

"The head officers of the army.

"The chief officers and aldermen of the city of London.

"The masters of the chancery, with his highness's learned council at law.

"The judges of the admiralty, the masters of request, with the judges in Wales.

"The barons of the exchequer, the judges of both benches, and the lord-mayor of London.

"Next to these the persons allied in blood to his late highness, and the members of the lords' house.

"After them the public ministers of foreign states and princes.

"Then the Holland ambassador alone, whose train was borne up by four gentlemen.

"Next to him the Portugal ambassador alone, whose train was held up by four knights of the order of Christ.

"And thirdly the French ambassador, whose train was also held up by four persons of quality.

"Then followed the lords commissioners of the great seal.

"The lords commissioners of the treasury.

"The lords of his late highness's most honourable privy-council.

"After whom followed the chief mourner, and those persons of quality which were his assistants, and bare up his train. All the nobles were in close mourning, the rest were but in ordinary, being disposed in their passage into several divisions, being distinguished by drums and trumpets, and by a standard or banner borne by a person of honour, and his assistant, and a horse of state covered with black velvet, and led by a person of honour, followed by two grooms: of which horses there were eleven in all, four covered with black cloth, and seven with velvet. These being all passed in order, at length the chariot followed with the effigies; on each side of which were borne six bannerrolls, twelve in all, by as many persons of honour. The several pieces of his late highness's armour were borne by eight honourable persons, officers of the army, attended by a herald and a gentleman on each side. Next followed garter, principal king of arms, attended by a gentleman on each side bare-headed.

"Then came the chief mourner, together with those lords and noble personages that were supporters and assistants to the chief mourner.

"Then followed the horse of honour, in very rich trappings, embroidered upon crimson velvet, and adorned with white, red, and yellow plumes, and was led by the master of the horse.

"Finally, in the close of all, followed his late highness's guard of halberdiers, and the warders of the tower.

"The solemnity was managed with a great deal of state, from Somerset-house to Westminster; many thousands of people being spectators in the windows, and upon the scaffolds, all along the way as it passed.

"At the west gate of the abbey church, the hearse with the effigies thereon was taken off again from the chariot, by those ten gentlemen who placed it thereon before, and in their passing on to carry it into the church, the canopy of state was by the former six gentlemen borne over it again; in which stately manner it was carried up to the east end of the abbey, and there placed in that magnificent structure which was purposely erected there to receive it; where it is to remain for some time exposed to public view. The corpse having been some days before interred in Henry the seventh's chapel, in a vault purposely prepared for the same, over which a costly monument is preparing.

"Thus have you a brief relation of the last ceremonies of honour which were performed to the memory of his late highness; who by his heroic acts had so well deserved, as that, my dull pen not able to express them, I shall remit the reader to censure my endeavours, and submit to those that shall hereafter undertake to present the world with a large chronicle."

(ww)

This act of barbarous malignancy is known to have originated with the restored monarch, or his flatterers and immediate advisers. But even the two houses of Parliament condescended to follow in the train of the court sycophants, and so far to colour the act of Charles, as to vote that the bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw, should be taken up and exposed! The corpse of Cromwell's mother was also taken from Westminster Abbey, where it had been interred with much pomp, and thrown, with many more, into a hole in St. Margaret's church-yard: and the practice was continued upon

the remains of many others, who had been eminent as republicans, or under the protectoral government; the fame of the renowned Admiral Blake not sufficing, as before related, to preserve his mouldering frame, more than the rest, from this offensive indignity. The strong expression of discontent that burst spontaneously from the people, could alone put a stop to acts of retaliation upon dead bodies so disgraceful to their perpetrators.

The following account is from a contemporary:—

Jan. 30. O. S. "The odious carcasses of O. Cromwell, H. Ireton, and J. Bradshaw, drawn upon sledges to Tyburn; and, being pulled out of their coffins, there hanged at the several angles of that triple tree till sun-set. Then taken down, beheaded, and their loathsome truncks thrown into a deep hole under the gallowes. Their heads were afterwards set upon poles on the top of Westminster-hall."—Gesta Britannorum: at the end of Wharton's Almanack for 1663.

*** The mason's receipt for taking up the bodies, as copied from the original by Dr. Cromwell Mortimer, Secretary to the Royal Society.—"May the 4th day, 1661, Rec^{d} then in full of the worshipful sergeant Norfolke, fiveteen shillinges, for taking up the corpes of Cromell, and Ierton, and Brasaw.

Rec. by mee John Lewis."

When the coffin of Cromwell was broken into, a leaden canister was found lying on his breast, and within it a copper-plate, gilt, with the arms of England, impaling those of Cromwell, on one side, and on the other the following inscription:

Oliverius Protector Reipublicæ Angliæ, Scotiæ, et Hiberniæ, Natus 25° Aprilis Anno 1599°, Inauguratus 16° Decembris 1653, Mortuus 3° Septembris Anno 1658°, hic situs est.

THE END.

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ERRATA.

Page 25, *for* previously, *read* previous.
—— 139, *for* private fancy, *read* his private fancy.
—— 178, *for* consequences, *read* consequence.
—— 225, *for* '*Icon* attributed to him,' *read* '*Icon*' attributed to him.
—— 230, *for* late and wicked engagement, *read* late wicked engagement.
—— 359, *for* so desire him, *read* to desire him.
—— 482, *for* but has lived, *read* but lived.

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